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9 infiltrators killed in S. Lebanon clashes

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — Nine enemy gunmen were killed and three Israeli soldiers were wounded in two clashes in the central sector of South Lebanon late on Wednesday night.

In the first incident, an Israeli Defence Forces unit sighted three gunmen at the Awali river one kilometre south of Michaa. In the exchange of fire that followed, the Israeli soldiers killed two and opened chase on a third. Two soldiers were lightly wounded when the escaping gunman threw a grenade at his unit. A third soldier suffered moderate injuries when he stumbled in a thickly planted area during the chase, which ended with the killing of the last of the three.

About 40 minutes later, an IDF patrol at Jabel Barukh came across a second group of armed infiltrators and opened fire, killing six. Four of the bodies were found on Wednesday night, and the remaining two were recovered yesterday morning. No Israeli soldiers were injured in the exchange.

Both enemy units were carrying a great deal of varied arms.

South Lebanese sources yesterday said they believed the gunmen crossed into IDF-controlled territory from the Druse regions in the Shouf mountains.

The IDF recently warned Druse leaders in the Shouf against allowing gunmen to organize in their territory and infiltrate into IDF territory from there, and was promised the infiltrations would cease. Yesterday IDF officers again met with Druse leaders in the Shouf to convey the same message.

It is believed the Druse have been allowing armed infiltrators to enter their region, organize there, and cross into IDF-controlled territory.

Entering IDF-controlled territory by foot from the Shouf mountains is one of the few options left to infiltrators now that the IDF has blocked truck and vehicle traffic in this Batr a-Shouf border-crossing.

The three soldiers injured in the incident were Ziv Ben-Dor, 21, of Kibbutz Yagur, Hananya Abu-Azz, 21, of Yavne, and Shimon Hen, 19, of Netanya.

The three were transferred to Rambam Hospital in Haifa Wednesday night, where they were hospitalized in the orthopedics ward. Hospital director Dr. Yosef Brandes reported that Abu-Azz was in fair to good condition and the other two were in good condition.

For Abu-Azz, a combat medic, the incident was the first time he treated combat wounds — his own.

Rabin supports withdrawal despite no Syrian agreement

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin indicated last night he would support an Israeli Defence Forces withdrawal from Lebanon even if the political-military arrangements with Syria do not result in a formal, signed agreement and the talks are held indirectly.

Addressing a meeting to mark the third anniversary of Moshe Dayan's death at Tel Aviv University, Rabin noted that the border with Jordan had been quiet for 14 years without a formal agreement with Amman and Syria had assiduously prevented terrorist attacks from the Golan during

the past 10 years.

Rabin made his comments on the eve of the cabinet's debate on Lebanon, scheduled for Sunday. He advocated a "genuine effort" to combine a military and a political solution in Lebanon, ignoring legalistic formalism and questions as to who sits with whom and where.

"Without a clear vision as to who counts (there) and with whom to seek a settlement even indirectly... and a clear definition of what we want and what we can achieve under these circumstances, we will continue to sink in the Lebanese mire," he warned.

Kidnapped baby's parents ask nanny: Bring Idit home

The life of an infant girl who the Jerusalem police believe was kidnapped by her nanny (*metapelet*) on Wednesday may be in danger because the infant requires a special milk substitute, Projectamil.

The parents of one-year-old Idit Henig last night made a public appeal to the nanny, Batya Margalit, to return Idit.

Margalit, 21, began to work last Sunday for Yehuda and Nurit Henig of Jerusalem's Gilo neighbourhood as their child's nanny. On Wednesday morning the couple left their home, leaving their daughter with Margalit.

When the mother returned home at 1 p.m. she was surprised to find (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)



Prime Minister Shimon Peres yesterday greets U.S. violinist Isaac Stern, who is on a concert tour in the country. (Hananiah Herman)

Major threat to banks from new credit policy

By PINHAS LANDAU
Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Bank of Israel's proposed new monetary policy could wipe out within one month all the progress of the commercial banks during 1984, informed sources revealed last night.

The policy on interest rates and credit that is evolving as part of the projected package deal contains significant risks to the banking system and possibly to the corporate sector.

The plan to emerge from the initial drafts of the government's package deal, insofar as monetary policy is concerned, is centered on the basic assumption that the implementation of the deal will lead to a sharp drop in the rate of inflation in November.

This will be in the 15-16 per cent range, according to the current projections of official sources, following a price rise this month of some 25-27 per cent.

The plan therefore envisages the concurrent reduction of interest rates to this new level. Specifically, it sees the Bank of Israel exerting its (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

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Go-ahead for universities to open Sunday—except Tel Aviv

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Most of the country's universities had announced by last night that they would open as scheduled on Sunday.

The sole exception was Tel Aviv University, which will decide today after a meeting to discuss recent developments.

Prof. Haim Harari, chairman of the Council for Higher Education, met yesterday with Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i, Treasury officials and Education Minister Yitzhak Navon in an effort to secure funds that would allow the institutions to open.

Later, reporting to heads of the universities, Harari said cash had been made available on an interim basis. But university officials said the funds promised were barely enough to operate for the first quarter of the school year, and they were reluctant to enroll students on such a tenuous basis.

University officials were obviously relieved at the new developments and hoped that some compromise would be forthcoming which would allow the universities to operate throughout the entire year.

As package deal negotiations reach stalemate Angry ministers charge: Peres misled on talks

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

Cabinet ministers were enraged last night at Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i and former governor of the Bank of Israel Moshe Sanbar whom they blame for having put Prime Minister Shimon Peres in an untenable situation at Wednesday's package-deal negotiations. Yesterday's extensive talks failed to bring the government, the Histadrut and the manufacturers any closer to an agreement. (See story below.)

Senior government and economic sources told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that the package-deal

talks are in a "complete deadlock." They did not rule out the possibility that the cabinet would reconsider the plan to peg the economy to the dollar as a basis for a package deal.

The sources said Sanbar had misled the government and the Histadrut about each other's positions in the package deal negotiations. They said Sanbar had presented to Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar only a part of his plan and failed to mention that it entailed a large wage erosion and no price freeze.

Later Sanbar, according to sources, told Peres and Moda'i that Kessar was willing to accept the plan he presented, and Peres on that basis convened Wednesday night's meeting with the Histadrut and the em-

ployers, expecting that a package deal would be signed.

"Peres was shocked to hear Kessar attack the plan at the opening of the meeting," sources said.

Sanbar himself, sources noted, did not bother to attend the meeting, though Peres had tried to reach him all afternoon.

The sources said that Moda'i's statement after the meeting that a package deal would be nonetheless reached yesterday was baseless, and only clouded the ministers' moods further.

The sources said that the failure to reach a package deal only makes the cabinet's attempt to cut \$500 million more difficult. The cabinet will meet to discuss the cuts on Monday.

No progress in Histadrut talks

By ROY ISACOWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Marathon meetings between government, Histadrut and manufacturers' representatives yesterday failed to resolve the deadlock in the package-deal negotiations. No date has been set for a resumption of formal negotiations, notwithstanding yesterday's strenuous consultations.

Histadrut sources said late last night that a date would probably be set today, after each side had examined new proposals that were aired at last night's informal negotiating session.

"One thing is clear," the sources

said, "The government economic plan is dead."

The first formal negotiating session between the government, the Histadrut and the private employers ended inconclusively on Wednesday night, with the Histadrut delegation expressing strong objections to the government's economic program.

Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar yesterday held continuous meetings with representatives of the various sides at Histadrut headquarters here. He met with Manufacturers Association President Eli Hurvitz, Finance Ministry Director-General Emanuel Sharon

and former Bank of Israel governors Amnon Gafni and Moshe Sanbar, authors of the government's package-deal proposal, among others.

Histadrut, government and employers teams, let by Hevrat Ha'ovdim Secretary-General Danny Rosolio, Sharon, and Hurvitz respectively met in Rosolio's office here last night. Though no decisions were reached at the meeting, participants described the discussion as "constructive and to the point."

The Histadrut sources said that the proposals of each side had been examined and their possible con-

(Continued on Page 15)

Works committees urge protest action

ASHDOD (Itim). — Representatives of 30 local works committees called for strikes and other protest actions against "government measures inflicted on the workers" in a stormy meeting here yesterday afternoon.

No steps were decided on at the meeting except a declaration of support for Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar in his opposition to the government's latest proposal for a package deal. The meeting was organized by the secretary of the Ashdod Labour

Council, Yehuda Ben-Haroush, and attended by representatives of port and municipal workers, and of workers in plants in the area.

Ben-Haroush had difficulty closing the meeting, in the face of shouts from the 100 or so persons attending calling for specific action. He told Itim he convened the meeting because of the increasing agitation of workers. Representatives of the larger plants called for immediate strike action.

Secretary of the Seamen's Ratings

union, Shlomo Avitan, lambasted the package deal, which he said could mean the firing of tens of thousands of workers. He also said it is a pity the Israeli public does not react with spontaneous protest actions against rising prices and the erosion of wages.

Ben Haroush announced that the secretaries of labour councils from nine southern localities will meet on Tuesday to coordinate protest action against policies which, he said, place an unfair burden on the workers.

MK Waldman allegedly knew about bomb plot

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A page from the investigation file of Menahem Neuberger, one of the 20 defendants in the Jewish terror trial, indicates that his father-in-law, Teiyya Knesset Member Rabbi Eliezer Waldman, "was aware of the attack on the (West Bank Arab) mayors."

It was not clear from the passage

quoted from the document whether Waldman was "aware" in advance of the attack or had subsequent knowledge of the identity of the perpetrators.

The document was submitted to the Jerusalem District Court on Wednesday during the mini-trial on the admissibility of some of the defendant's statements and released yesterday.

Waldman was detained by the police for questioning at the time but released and now, since his election to the Knesset, enjoys parliamentary immunity.

The commander of the General Security Services in Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria, code-named "Ya'acov," took the stand yesterday, at first testifying behind a screen to hide his face from the rest

of the court. The screen was removed on the insistence of one of the defence advocates, Dan Avi Yitzhak.

"Ya'acov" was closely cross-examined about the Palestinian National Guidance Committee (NGC) and one of its leaders, the former mayor of Nabulus, Bassam

(Continued on Back Page)

Bundestag president quits amid scandal

BONN (AP). — Bundestag President Rainer Barzel resigned yesterday amid allegations that he accepted DM1.7 million (\$566,000) in payoffs from the Flick industrial concern.

Alfred Dregger, parliamentary leader of Barzel's Christian Democratic Union party, announced the resignation at a special caucus of the conservative faction in Bonn.

Party officials had earlier leaked word of the resignation after an emergency midday meeting of the CDU leadership, including Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Barzel's resignation letter said political and psychological pressures on him had become "unbearable."

and that parliament should select a new president so that it could resume normal duties, Dregger told reporters after informing party colleagues.

Barzel was suddenly reported ill at midday yesterday, and he cancelled his scheduled afternoon appearance before a parliamentary committee.

Barzel's first appearance before the investigating committee Wednesday afternoon showed that no legal charges could be brought against him, Dregger asserted.

The committee questioned Barzel about prosecutor's documents that say he received DM1.7m. of Flick money laundered through a Frankfurt legal firm he worked for in 1973-1982.

Post correspondent Vladimir Struminski adds: Barzel's resignation may be detrimental to Jewish and Israeli interests, Jewish circles in the German Federal Republic said yesterday.

One reason is that Barzel "always

had an open ear for Jews and paid attention to what we say," Jewish sources told *The Jerusalem Post*. Among other things, they said, Barzel opposed German weapon sales to Saudi Arabia.

The Jewish sources added that the resignation is likely to undermine public confidence in the established democratic parties and strengthen radical elements like the Greens and other leftist organizations who are anti-Israel.

To Our Readers

We have found it necessary to readjust the prices of the *Jerusalem Post* as follows:
Weekdays: IS 280
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Thank you for your understanding and continued support.

The Editors

WEEKEND

GROUP DYNAMICS WORKSHOP

Open to the public November 15-17, 1984 at the Kibbutz Beit Oren Guest House. English and Hebrew speaking groups. Bronsky Institute, 24 S. Levin St., P.O.B. 4130, Haifa 31041. Tel. 04-645845.

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From oranges to robots
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* Kibbutz industries enter the age of computers and robotics.
* Counting chickens before they're hatched.
* R&D — "Sprinkler thinkers" and IDs for cows.
* Silicone Valley by the Sea of Galilee.
* The history of kibbutz industries.
* A kibbutz with multiple industries: a photo feature.
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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy
Outlook for Sabbath: Partly cloudy

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	58	15-20	21
Golan	29	10-23	23
Nahariya	51	11-23	22
Safed	11	12-23	23
Haifa Port	62	18-24	24
Tiberias	42	15-27	26
Nazareth	57	14-24	24
Afula	61	15-26	26
Sharon	50	14-22	23
Tel Aviv	56	18-24	24
B-G Airport	60	15-24	24
Jericho	46	19-29	29
Gaza	44	17-24	24
B-cerebra	68	17-24	24
Eilat	32	19-30	30

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The president of Histadrut Teachers' Union, Dr. Shalom Levin, yesterday received from Ambassador Niels Hansen the German Order of Merit in Gold presented on behalf of Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker in recognition of his long-standing contributions towards German-Israeli relations. The president of the German Teachers' Union, Dr. Dietrich Wunder, attended the ceremony.

The Simha and Sara Lainer Family Teaching-of-Israel Programme was dedicated at the Hebrew University yesterday in the presence of the Lainer family of Los Angeles, in a ceremony chaired by the university's pro-rector, Prof. Raphael Mechoulam.

Haifa Mayor Arye Gurel will speak on relations between central and local government at the Haifa Engineers Club at 1 p.m. today. Table reservations, telephone 538268.

DEPARTURES

Sylvia Shapiro, to attend a Lamport family reunion in New York, observing the 10th anniversary of Grandfather Nathan's settling in Burlington, Vermont.

In Memoriam

The Border Police yesterday held its annual memorial ceremony for its members who fell in action, 24 of them this year. The ceremony, held near the Iron Junction, was led by a rabbi, a bereaved Druse father and a Moslem sheikh.

Seven youths jailed for tossing petrol bombs

RAMLE (Itim). — The Ramle military court yesterday sentenced seven youths from a refugee camp in the Bethlehem area to periods of from one to three years in jail for making petrol bombs, which they threw at Israeli vehicles on roads near Bethlehem. They admitted the charges.

The charges against the seven, which related to acts committed over the past two years, also included throwing rocks at Israeli vehicles.

BURIAL. — A new burial society to handle funeral arrangements for Haredim (ultra-Orthodox Jews) in Safed and Hatzor Hagalilit was set up this week in Safed.

HOME NEWS

Liberals discuss possibility of breaking away from Likud

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The idea of breaking away from the Likud is gaining momentum in the Liberal Party, whose executive committee yesterday discussed the possibility. But the committee did not reach a decision, agreeing to continue the debate at its next meeting.

"We must first debate the issue thoroughly and only then strike, not the other way around," Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i said afterwards. "The matter is important, but must not be hurried. The problem is first of all ideological and only then organizational," he said.

Most of the speakers at the meeting called for immediate steps to negotiate a new Gahal agreement with Herut and act according to the results of the negotiations. (The 1965 agreement fixed the ratio of Herut to Liberal candidates on the Likud slate for the Knesset.) Speakers included Jewish Agency Executive chairman Arye Dulzin, former Agriculture Minister Pessah Grupper, Avraham Katz and others.

Members abandoning the partnership with Herut did not

speak, because there was no time, and will express their opinions at the next meeting. Most committee members are still opposed to breaking up with Herut, it was learned.

At the beginning of the meeting, a number of committee members criticized Justice Minister Moshe Nissim's statements against Moda'i earlier this week. Nissim preferred not to reply and said he would speak at the next committee meeting.

The committee will decide at its next meeting to convene the party's convention, which will resolve the future of the Gahal agreement. The convention is also to appoint a new central committee and make up a new Knesset list for the next elections.

The Liberals Young Members also met yesterday and discussed the possibility of breaking off from Herut and forming an independent faction. In this case, if Herut leaves the government, the Liberals will support Prime Minister Shimon Peres. The Young Liberals called on the party presidium to meet with Herut representatives immediately to negotiate a new Gahal agreement, which the Liberals claim Herut has violated.

Peres defers decision on two ministries

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Shimon Peres has again deferred a decision on who will control the Religious Affairs and Interior ministries.

Shas is demanding one of the portfolios, as promised by the Likud in the coalition negotiations, while the National Religious Party insists on heading both ministries.

The two parties have threatened to leave the government if thwarted. But yesterday after another round of talks with Shas leaders, Peres again postponed his decision.

Shas's Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz and former Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef

agreed to defer the matter until the beginning of next month.

Said Peretz: "Peres is so immersed in the economic issue right now that we did not want to pressure him too much."

"However, we made our position clear and agreed to give him a few days to solve the economic problems."

Shas also asked Peres if he had taken action to stop the Heichal cinema in Petah Tikva from opening on Friday nights.

They were told he had met with Mayor Don Tavori and would continue to deal with the matter. Meanwhile, the cinema is closed for renovations.

Peres to visit France early in December

Jerusalem Post Staff

Prime Minister Shimon Peres will visit France from December 5 to December 7 at the invitation of French Premier Laurent Fabius.

The Prime Minister's Office announced yesterday that Peres would meet President Francois Mitterrand, Fabius and other leading politicians, and leaders of the French Jewish Community.

The visit to France has been expected since Peres became premier. He has had a strong personal and political friendship with Mitterrand for many years, through their common membership of the Socialist International.

Government sources said this

week that Peres would seek French participation in joint industrial projects with Israel to help the recovery of the economy.

Peres meets 40 envoys

Jerusalem Post Staff

Prime Minister Shimon Peres yesterday met with the 40 foreign ambassadors in Israel at his office in Jerusalem.

The meeting was arranged at the initiative of U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis, the head of the diplomatic corps, in place of the individual meetings normally arranged between a new premier and the resident ambassadors.

Ten survivors remember Sobibor revolt 41 years ago

By ERNIE MEYER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The revolt at the Sobibor extermination camp 41 years ago was marked by a memorial service at Yad Vashem yesterday.

Of the approximately 600 Jews involved, about half of them managed to escape the camp. Almost 100 of these were killed in the minefields surrounding the camp or by the pursuing SS men and soldiers of the Wehrmacht, which used planes in the search.

Of the 200 who made it into the surrounding woods, it is estimated that only 50 or 60 survived until the end of the war. The rest fell in fights with hostile partisans or were betrayed to the Germans by the Polish population.

Ten of these survivors attended the seminar following the memorial service, which was held for the benefit of a group of women soldiers, preparing for teaching duties. The chairman of the Yad Vashem executive, Dr. Yitzhak Arad, told the soldiers that there was no slave labour at Sobibor. Daily transports of 1,000-1,500 people, arriving from Lublin, Poland and later from Holland, Belgium and France, were immediately gassed. Only those needed to run the camp services were kept alive.

There were many individual attempts at escape. Few of these were successful and all resulted in

reprisal executions of large numbers.

It was this experience that led to the conviction that only a mass revolt had any chance of success.

Details of the actual revolt in the late afternoon of October 14, 1941 were given by survivors, Dov Freiberg, Leon Lerner and Eda Lichtman. They explained that the prisoners had no military training and that the attempt would not have succeeded except for the group of Jewish Russian war prisoners who had arrived at Sobibor five weeks before.

Previous attempts at organization had failed for lack of leadership. Also there had been some cases of betrayal to the Germans — by Jews who thus hoped to save their own lives.

Leon Lerner told how shortly before 3 p.m. on the day of the revolt, 11 SS men were individually lured into ambushes and killed by Jews. One SS man was invited to the tailor shop for a fitting of his new winter coat. While thus distracted, two inmates attacked him with axes and killed him.

Of the 140 women who took part in the revolt, only four or five survived.

After the revolt the camp was closed. "There is no doubt that without the uprising nobody would have survived," Arad said. "It is a page of heroism in our history."

'Balfour Day' now 'Aliya-Absorption Day'

Balfour Day, traditionally celebrated on November 2 to commemorate the issue of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, will henceforth be known as Yom Aliya Uklaia (Aliya and Absorption Day).

The name change, initiated by Hithadut Olei Britannia (the British Settlers Association), has been endorsed by the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization. The organizations will co-sponsor a four-day series of events beginning next Wednesday.

and Absorption Day).

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Speakers at yesterday's meeting of the Liberal Party executive committee are, from left, Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir, Jewish Agency Executive Chairman Arye Dulzin and Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i.

Electricity prices raised 30% despite opposition

Post Economic Reporter

A 30 per cent rise in electricity prices was approved yesterday by the Knesset Finance Committee amid accusations that the government was fuelling inflation.

But angry Mapam and Herut Knesset members declared during the debate that they would not vote for any price increase unless the government presented a comprehensive economic plan.

Mapam MK Yair Tzaban accused the government of trying to "grab" price increases before declaring a freeze.

Joining Tzaban was Likud MK

Yoram Aridor, who said it was not clear whether subsidizing electricity was worse than such a large price hike.

Only after Alignment members were urged to support the committee was the coalition able to approve the requested increase.

David Rudge adds: The Israel Electric Corporation spokesman said the 30 per cent price hike would not mean an increase in real terms.

On the contrary, the public would still be paying less than the cost price, he said.

Ata workers vow to oppose planned closure by Tuesday

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Ata factories will close by Tuesday at the latest unless a recovery plan for the textile firm, which owes \$27 million, is put into effect immediately, the company's chairman, Asher Levy, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday. But the workers said they will not allow the firm to be shut.

"We will take action that will shake the country and not all the forces of the police will stop us," said Pincas Gabor, chairman of the works committee at Ata's main factories in Kfar Yehoshua.

If Ata is closed, the 120,000 workers in the Haifa region will join the Ata employees in their fight. This decision was taken yesterday during a meeting at Haifa Labour Council headquarters of representatives of works committees in the area and the heads of four local councils.

The initial action would probably be a mass demonstration, but could be followed by industrial sanctions, *The Post* learned.

The meeting called on Prime Minister Shimon Peres to ensure that Ata continues in production until a long-term solution is found.

News of Ata's pending closure was conveyed to the employees and the government by Levy himself. He told *The Post* that the firm's last sources of income had dried up after

the Cotton Marketing Board attached funds of Ata's marketing company, Teta.

"Ata has no money and cotton stocks will run out by Monday or Tuesday at the latest so there will not be any work for the employees. In that event we may offer them to go on leave, but that has not been finally decided yet," said Levy.

He emphasized that the only hope for keeping the company going lay in the immediate implementation of the recommendations of the industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon today.

The report is expected to recommend that a receiver be appointed to run Ata's affairs and that the government arrange for funds to ensure the firm's continued production until a buyer is found.

The Ata crisis and problems at other concerns in the Haifa region, including the Israel Shipyards, has prompted fears of a huge rise in unemployment.

Haifa Labour Council secretary Moshe Wertman told the meeting that there is a danger that 10,000 area people will be unemployed in the near future. The jobs total at present stands at nearly 4,000.

The meeting decided to establish a special committee to follow up on the unemployment situation in the region and report to the government.

Physiotherapist sentenced for stealing

HAIFA (Itim). — A physiotherapist who was convicted of stealing jewelry from the home of a handicapped patient was sentenced by the Haifa District Court yesterday to two months in jail or a \$250,000 fine. He was also given an 18-month suspended sentence.

The prosecution charged that in February 1982 Bader Baderna, of Sakhrina, stole \$500,000 worth of gold jewelry from a handicapped person under his care. Baderna, 27, was convicted on the basis of his confession.

Judge Nathan Kleinberger noted that Baderna had violated the trust of his patient and the patient's family, who had not hidden or locked up the jewelry.

Design conference to spotlight on Jerusalem

Jerusalem will be in the spotlight of the International Design Conference in Aspen (IDCA) which is holding its first seminar in Israel on Wednesday and Thursday in the capital.

Theme of the conference will be "Jerusalem: Heritage and Development" and IDCA's board of directors will have visited various sites in the city before the seminar begins.

Discussions will focus on the development and growth of a historic city in general and the specific physical design and social issues confronting Jerusalem.

2 hurt as roof collapses

NETANYA (Itim). — Two construction workers were injured here yesterday when the roof of a building they were working on collapsed in the intersection of Smilansky and Remez streets. The reason for the roof's collapse is unclear, and the police and Labour Ministry are investigating.

Basketball

Round 9
Maccabi Tel Aviv 111, Mac. Ramat Gan 94.
Hapoel Tel Aviv 187, Hapoel Gan Shmuel 90.
Maccabi Rishon 103, Bnei Tel Aviv 87.
Hapoel Holon 86, Hapoel Afula 75.
Hapoel Upper Galilee 109, Hap. Ramat Gan 96.
Hapoel Kiryat Gat 113, Hap. Rishon 105.

KIDNAPPED BABY

(Continued from Page One)
that Margalit had left the house with Idit. "At first I thought they had gone out for a walk, but when they hadn't come back an hour and a half later I started worrying," Nurit Henig said last night.

Late Wednesday afternoon the parents contacted the police, who immediately sent senior investigators to their home.

By chance friends of the Margalit family called the nanny's parents Wednesday night and said they had seen Barya Margalit in downtown Jerusalem around noon with an infant in her arms. The nanny said she was on her way to a drugist to buy medicine for the baby girl.

Nothing was known last night about where the nanny and infant had gone from downtown Jerusalem.

During the few days Margalit

worked in the Henig household, she had shown great affection for Idit, and said repeatedly that she loved children. During the time she had fed Idit the special milk substitute she needs because of an intestinal problem.

The police suspect that the nanny, who was so attached to the infant, simply took her somewhere, but is not mistreating the baby.

The family and the police called on Barya Margalit to bring Idit home, but reminded her that in any case the infant should be fed only the milk substitute and not real milk.

The nanny wore a beige blouse, a white skirt and white shoes. She is 1.65 metres tall and has black hair, and speaks Hebrew, English and Arabic. Anyone who saw her or knows her whereabouts should contact the police. (Itim)

IDF to free 35 from Ansar

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — The Israel Defence Forces plans to release 35 prisoners from the Ansar prison camp soon, in response to a request by the commander of the South Lebanon Army, General Antoine Lahad.

The request, approved by Israel's liaison officer in South Lebanon, Tet-Aluf Shlomo Ilya, is apparently a gesture towards the Shi'ite population in South Lebanon, with whom the IDF and the SLA are trying to improve relations.

There have been increased contacts between SLA officers and Shi'ite leaders in recent weeks in an attempt to stem Shi'ite attacks against the SLA and increase Shi'ite recruitment into its ranks.

There are about 950 prisoners in

Ansar, which is one of three IDF prison camps in South Lebanon. The other two were first visited by the International Red Cross three weeks ago.

The 35 prisoners to be released are mostly residents of Tyre, Sidon and Nabatiya who were imprisoned this year.

The IDF has also permitted the one-time passage through the Bati-Shouf border crossing of 80 trucks carrying mostly fuel and grapes from South Lebanon as part of a policy meant to ease the life of the people as much as possible. In recent weeks the IDF has permitted only pedestrian traffic to cross at the border station, and drivers of cars and trucks have had to leave their vehicles behind them when going from one part of Lebanon to the other.

U.S. group moots new Arab housing

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A plan to buy a large tract of land in the West Bank and build a large-scale housing settlement for young Arab couples was floated several months ago by Prof. Stephen Cohen of the City University of New York. He is one of the coordinators of a group of American Arab and Jewish businessmen who hope to promote economic development in the West Bank.

Local sources recalled yesterday that Cohen and an associate, Judith

Miller, had visited the area and raised this idea, as well as the possibility of building a primary medical care centre in some outlying area as a pilot project. Local medical associations were approached to act as agents for the scheme, but apparently their response was negative.

The housing project, which has apparently remained only an idea, was conceived along the lines of new Jewish settlements, with small light industries to be established to provide some local employment. (See story, page 3.)

New anti-epilepsy pill developed

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A new delivery system for one of the most effective anti-epileptic drugs, valproic acid, has been perfected at the Hebrew University.

Until now, despite its great effectiveness, valproic acid has seldom used since it had to be given three times daily, and stable plasma levels were not always maintained.

The new delivery system will allow one pill a day to be slowly released

throughout a 24-hour period, which will eliminate the peaks and valleys of multiple doses.

Friedman of the university's School of Pharmacy have already tested the new release system in dogs and humans with the permission of the Health Ministry.

The Hebrew University's Yissum Research Development Company is trying to interest a commercial firm

BANKS THREATENED

(Continued from Page One)

influence on the banking system, through the "monetary loans" that it lends the banks, to bring the "prime" or base rate of interest to borrowers down to about 16 per cent — five per cent lower than its current level.

The central bank will insist, however, that the banks offer very high rates of interest to their depositors in *tapas*, *pakam* and other short-term shekel accounts.

At the same time, it will work to create an incentive for holders of *patam* dollars to switch to shekel deposits, possibly by devaluing the shekel by 10 or more per cent immediately after the deal goes into operation.

This move, in the context of an overall policy of devaluing in line with the inflation rate and no more, will allow the Bank of Israel to switch over to a minuscule rate of daily devaluations — say, 0.2 per cent daily for the rest of next month.

This new tactic in exchange-rate management would push depositors to switch from dollar-linked *patam* accounts to shekel deposits.

Compensation for the reduction in profit margins could come through adjusting the banks' liquidity requirements. Another idea mooted at the Treasury would see the banks recouping the higher interest to their customers from the lower real wages they would be paying their staff — as the terms of the package deal would have eroded their salaries. This would see bank employees subsidizing their own clientele!

However, far more serious is the likely erosion of the capital and profits of the banks — accumulated mainly during April-September this year — by the gap between what this capital will earn and what the rate of inflation will actually be next month.

Calculations made by the research department of the First International Bank, whose record of prediction is quite good, suggest that the October index will not be less than 28-29 per cent — and this was calculated with a full week of the month still to run. For November, no serious independent observer expects less than 20 per cent, even if a freeze is enacted and holds.

This means that if the new policy goes ahead along the above pattern, the banks will be collecting interest at 5 or 6 per cent below the actual rate of inflation.

This will put them back where they were in 1983, only the current hyperinflation, and their own weakness following last year's losses, makes their relative position much more vulnerable.

According to well-placed observers, both in and outside the banking system, there is a manifest danger that the banks' profits of the first three quarters of the year, could be wiped out after only a few weeks of operations in a negative-real-interest-rate regime.

Because it is so late in their business year, they will have no time to recoup their position, as they would have if the new policy had begun in the first quarter, for example. There is therefore a serious risk that the non-commercial banks will incur a second consecutive year of losses.

"If we come in with a loss again, we will have nowhere to turn on the international scene," said one source, who is in daily touch with foreign bankers. "We are retaining our credibility abroad on the basis of having shown a turnaround in the first half of this year. If that evaporates, our position will be very bad."

This is the main danger involved in the proposed monetary policy. There is also talk, more rumour than anything firm, of a possible credit freeze. If this prospect is worrying the banks, insofar as "turning off the taps" to the corporate sector would result in bankruptcies and may bring them losses, if their loans are not fully serviced.

Far more concerned, as may be imagined, are the businesses themselves — particularly small outfits with insufficient capital themselves and liquid assets of their own to fall back on.

Because of the existence of a large loan market outside the official banking system, the so-called grey market, no one really knows what the total demand for credit is in the economy, or even how much marginal borrowers are willing to pay for the extra funds that keep them afloat a bit longer.

Furthermore, the general uncertainty is causing lenders to restrict their loans to periods as short as one to two weeks at a time, for fear of being overtaken by events.

Conversely, borrowers are seeking to obtain extra credit facilities, even if they have no immediate use for them, just in case a credit freeze is imposed.

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Spokesman denies story on Arab bank 'garbled' reports on WB promoters

By WALTER RUBY
 Jerusalem Post Correspondent
 NEW YORK. — Prof. Stephen Cohen, spokesman for the Business Development Group for Middle East Peace and Development — a joint Jewish-Arab organization formed to find ways to improve the quality of life for Jews in the Israel-administered areas — said yesterday that news reports that the group is planning to set up an Arab development bank in Judea and Samaria are "garbled."

According to Cohen, who is director of the Institute for Middle East Peace and Development at the City University of New York, "This is a whole thing about our wanting to set up an Arab development bank is a part of someone's imagination. Simon Peres said when he was in the U.S. that the Israeli government was considering that idea, but that has absolutely nothing to do with our group."

Asked what kind of projects the group has suggested be implemented in the areas, Cohen replied: "We are still very much in the discussion stage, and are still exchanging ideas. As this is a business group, we intend to follow a business-like approach, and announce our plans when we are ready to go. We don't intend to talk before we do anything."

Cohen denied that the group is trying to create an infrastructure among the Arabs in the areas to

further the process of separating them from Israel. "That is entirely outside the range of what we have considered. This is in no way a political group, but a humanitarian group including businessmen from Jewish and Arab backgrounds, who are seeking to build cooperation and attempting to solve some problems that exist in the West Bank in areas like unemployment and public health."

Cohen was asked about comments by Tehiya leader Yuval Ne'eman that Arab institutions set up in Judea and Samaria by the group could lead to Arab sovereignty. He answered: "That is ridiculous. Does that mean that if you want to build a hospital in the Bronx, that you therefore want the black population there to split away and form a separate republic?"

Asked whether his group has been in contact with the U.S. and Israel governments, Cohen only would say: "We have naturally been in touch with governments relevant to the implementation of the project."

Cohen, who is said to have close ties to Butros Ghali, the Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, and other Egyptian figures, would not respond to a question about whether the Egyptian government had been consulted. He only repeated that the group consulted with all governments relevant to the project.

Cohen refused to name participants in the business group, saying rumors about the Arab and Jewish

businessmen involved "has become something of a joke because they are so inaccurate."

Asked why the group was maintaining an air of secrecy about the identity of its members and about its plans, Cohen replied: "It is not a question of secrecy, but simply good business practices."

He was asked whether the public did not have a right to know about the activities of a group of millionaires who may have an important impact on the Middle East situation. Cohen answered: "It is unfair to characterize this as a shadowy group of millionaires. Would, for example, a group involved in planning a major development project on 42nd Street go to the press with their plans before getting approval (from the city) to implement the project?"

Cohen added: "We are trying very hard not to become another political actor on the scene, but want instead to do something practical to improve the situation."

Asked whether the activities of the group had not already become highly politicized given the press coverage as well as the negative reaction to its activities by figures like Vice Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Ne'eman, and the seeming support of the U.S. State Department and Prime Minister Peres, Cohen only would say: "I believe that the publicity about this will die down, and we will be able to get down to business."



Chief of General Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy uncovers a soldier's new lieutenant's insignia yesterday at a passing-out ceremony for Engineering Corps officers and non-coms. (IDF spokesman)

35 answer call for rare blood type

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TZRIFFIN. — More than 35 persons answered a radio appeal for donors of a rare blood type (A or O Rh negative) needed yesterday at Assaf Harofeh Hospital here.

Bar-Lev orders investigation of guard-hiring methods

Jerusalem Post Staff

Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev yesterday ordered police Inspector-General Rav-Nitzav Aryeh Ivtzan to give high priority to an investigation into the hiring practices of guard companies. The order follows the murders of Ron Levy and Revital Seri earlier this week by an Arab guard at the Jerusalem Technological Institute who turned out to have a criminal past.

The head of the police security unit, Sgan-Nitzav Rafi Gefen, said yesterday that the guard's obtaining the weapon he used — a Gali rifle left by a soldier in one of the rooms at the institute — was a result of serious negligence.

Gefen said if guard companies operate within the law, they do not hire people with a criminal record. He noted that the Jerusalem Technological Institute is a state institution whose guards must be approved and licensed by a Justice Ministry committee. Issa Nimr Jibrin, the guard who confessed to the murder of Levy and Seri, did not have such a license.

The guard company that hired Jibrin yesterday told him that it is always very careful to get Police and Health Ministry information on persons applying to work as guards. But since in this particular instance it was requested to send an unnamed guard, it did not seek this information.

A manager of another guard company said the companies are often compelled to hire persons of doubtful past, even including drunks and mentally unstable persons, because there are few applicants. Guard companies are unable to lure more workers since they cannot offer high pay for guarding.

Directors of several guard companies contended that the problem lies not in their hiring practices but in the police, who delay replies on applicants' past for weeks and sometimes months, making it impossible for the companies to wait for answers before they hire applicants.

The police say that they provide companies who turn to them with speedy replies as to the past of persons interested in guarding, and that some companies have been warned not to hire criminals as guards.

It has been learned that the police intend to clamp down on guard companies and prevent them from hiring persons whose past is at all under question. It suggests this would likely substantially increase guarding fees, which could result in the hiring of fewer guards and a rise in crime.

Barak's son and daughter-in-law were killed by terrorists in Beit Govrin in February 1981.

Lea Levavi adds: A group of citizens yesterday launched a campaign to institute the death sentence for terrorists who murder Jews.

The group, called the Committee for Capital Punishment, is headed by Attorney Azriel Barak, who is also chairman of the committee of bereaved families who lost their loved ones as a result of terrorist attacks.

Barak's son and daughter-in-law were killed by terrorists in Beit Govrin in February 1981.

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Howe hopes to help Mideast peace process

LONDON (Reuters). — Britain's Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe will be hoping to nudge the Middle East peace process along during his visit to Israel next week, eastern diplomats said yesterday.

They said he would sound out the new coalition government on ways to break the stalemate in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Howe flies to Israel on Sunday for a three-day visit his last to the Jewish state since taking over as foreign secretary in June last year.

Officials said Britain anticipated a new initiative from the U.S. after the presidential election next month. They expected the Americans to

make the running and obviously we want to help things along if we can," said a spokesman who asked not to be named.

Howe, in a speech to pro-Israeli members of the ruling Conservative Party two weeks ago, reaffirmed that his government unwaveringly supported Israel's rights and security.

But he said Israel had to take constructive steps to solve the Middle East problem because "it is a power keg which could explode again... engulfing the region in conflict and threatening to suck in the superpowers."

The foreign secretary said Israel could restore some confidence on

the Arab side by imposing a freeze on new settlements in occupied Arab territory.

Howe has stressed that Britain was willing to participate in measures to guarantee a lasting settlement.

Official sources suggested that Britain, if asked, might contribute peace-keeping troops to fill the security vacuum created by Israel's proposed withdrawal from southern Lebanon.

Howe will have an extensive round of talks with Prime Minister Shimon Peres and other senior ministers while he also hopes to meet some prominent Palestinians.

Joint Israel-UK ventures seen 'likely'

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

A number of joint ventures between Israel and Britain are likely to materialize as a result of the visit of a trade mission to Britain by representatives of six branches of Israeli industry.

They were led by Dr. Asher Hefner, executive director of the Association of Banks of Israel. He was accompanied by Zvi Shor, managing director of the Israel Diamond Manufacturers Association; Arnon Yberg, director-general of the Manufacturers Association; Zvi Amit, general manager of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Chamber of Commerce; Ebanan Efrati, director-general of Contractors and Builders Federation; and Shlomo Risman, director-general of the Israel Farmers Federation.

During their four-day visit, which ends today, they were the guests of the Diamond Trade Centre, the Stock Exchange, Lloyd's (where

they were addressed by the chairman), Southampton Free Port, Liverpool, and the Confederation of British Industry. They also had a meeting with leading officials at the Department of Trade.

They did not come to sign contracts but to examine the possibilities and will return to Israel confident that there are a number of areas in which co-operation can be developed. In Liverpool, for example, they were guests of the Merseyside Development Corporation, which is anxious to attract overseas capital for its projects. A delegation from Merseyside is to visit Israel next year.

One of the most encouraged aspects of the visit was the report the members of the delegation received from representatives of the five Israeli banks in London about how the City views the Israeli economy. They were told that despite the problems, the City has full confidence in

Israel's ability to pull through its economic crisis and consequently there is no problem in obtaining loans.

For the building trade, Efrati investigated the possibility of British investment in projects for building roads, railways and hospitals in Israel and was confident that something would materialize.

One practical result of the mission is that a conference is to take place in Britain next February with the participation of 40 Israeli industrialists who will come to investigate the possibility of exporting to Britain.

Meanwhile, the members of the mission will return to Israel to pass on what they learned to a wide range of Israeli businessmen. As Martin Mendoza, chairman of the British-Israel Chamber of Commerce, which helped to organize the mission, put it: "They came to identify the possibilities that might exist and found plenty of them."

Every American in Lebanon is a target—U.S.

WASHINGTON (AP). — The State Department said Wednesday it has new information "concerning threats to Americans in Lebanon, renewed a warning for Americans travelling there."

The warning came as four Japanese employees of the Associated Press office in Beirut disappeared while on their way to work yesterday.

There is new information concerning the threat across the board, including newspaper correspondents and newsmen, said the State Department spokesman.

Another informed official said there is an obvious effort by radical groups in Lebanon to drive all Americans out of the embattled entry. "The threat of terrorist attack is certainly real," the official said.

The developments came just a day after the anniversary of the terrorist truck-bombing attack on a U.S. army barracks that killed 241 American servicemen in Beirut on October 23, 1983. Another suicide bombing that same day killed scores of French peacekeepers.

The U.S. embassy staff has been pared in the last week to only a handful of diplomats following the terrorist bombing of the U.S. Embassy annex in East Beirut last month and because of the continuing threats.

"The amount of information that flows through U.S. and other channels about potential terrorist acts is very substantial," and threats are directed at American diplomatic posts worldwide, the spokesman said.

"Threats have increased," he said. "The volume of those threats has been high for the past year."

A senior official said "we are underlining it" in view of the new information on threats to Amer-

icans. "Our belief is that newsmen too should exercise prudence," the official said.

Another official said it is clear the goal of terrorists in Lebanon is to drive all Americans out, not just U.S. government representatives. "That seems a reasonable interpretation of what these guys are trying to do," the official said. "I think there's got to be some objective in what all of these terrorist attacks are aimed at."

Meanwhile, U.S. officials said the visit by Lebanese President Amin Jemayel to Libya, where he conferred with Col. Muammar Gaddafi, is an "adverse" development that further erodes U.S. efforts to isolate Gaddafi internationally.

Man gets 3 months' jail for seducing 12-year-old

HAIFA (Itim). — A youth from Or Akiva convicted of statutory rape was yesterday sentenced to three months in prison, nine months suspended and 1½ years under the supervision of a probation officer.

The youth, Mordechai Reuven, 18½, was charged with seducing and having sexual intercourse with a 12-year-old. Haifa District Court Judge Haim Pizani noted in his ruling that

Reuven was sexually disturbed.

Meanwhile, the court extended the remand of a 17-year-old youth suspected of molesting a 14-year-old boy.

The police representative told the court that the suspect is believed to have attacked and molested the boy several times, using threats and violence.

UK Conservatives postpone trip to Israel

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — A tour to Israel by a group of leading members of the Conservative Party has been postponed because of the bombing of the Grand Hotel in Brighton during the party conference October 12.

The tour, under the auspices of the Conservative Friends of Israel, was due to arrive November 4. It would have included Donald MacLean, president of the Conservative Party in Scotland, and his wife, both of whom are still hospitalized from

injuries sustained in the blast; Gordon Shattock, chairman of the western area Conservative Party, who is also in the hospital; and his wife, Jeanne, who was killed, and others who are recovering from injuries.

The MacLeans attended the CFI lunch addressed by Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe the day before the blast, as did Sir Anthony Berry, MP, who was also killed. Sir Anthony, a good friend of Israel and active in behalf of Soviet Jewry, was vice-president of CFI's North London Area Council.

Letter of the law could disqualify Kahane

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A local insurance agent said yesterday he had found a way to disqualify Kach leader Rabbi Meir Kahane's Knesset membership.

Shmuel Gutentag is confident the letters on Kahane's ballot slips are illegal.

He says Section Six Article 61 (a) of the Elections Law states the letters should be different. But Kahane's *kaf* and *kaf sofit* are essentially identical. (*Kaf sofit* is a *kaf* written differently because it comes at the end of a word.)

Gutentag said he had been invited to appear before the Knesset's House committee on 6 November to state his case.

Kahane was not available for comment.

Trio scores success

LONDON. — Israel's highly acclaimed Camerata Trio has completed a successful visit here with eight recitals in the capital and its provinces. The trio of Emanuel Gruber (cellist), Eli Heifetz (clarinetist) and Michael Boguslavsky (piano) have now left for further engagements in Belgium.

HOSPITAL. — A 60-member committee recently established in Safad says it aims to help the Safad Hospital deal with what the group calls successive upheavals due to the frequent changes in hospital directors.

Would-be car thieves fire shot at owner

HOLON (Itim). — Two young men who tried to steal a car here yesterday shot at the owner when he shouted at them. The owner was not injured and the would-be thieves fled.

The incident occurred at 5 a.m. yesterday when the two men tried to steal the car from the parking lot of a block of flats. The owner saw them, came down to the lot, and shouted at them. One of the thieves fired one shot at the owner and the other fled.

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Arye L. Dulzin
 Chairman of the Executive

AD304-15-18

Jolly-good reading on Thursday

Jerusalem Post on Thursday includes a 24-page supplement, Israel-Ties & Trade.

An Israeli in the Court of St. James — our envoy in London — and Britain's new ambassador to Israel are interviewed.

It's Balfour Day and a time to celebrate.

Here's a scoop: a British-Israeli ice cream connection.

Israel's special friends in the House of Commons.

A buoyant mood in the British-Israeli Chamber of Commerce.

And more... Don't miss it, Thursday, November 1, in

THE JERUSALEM POST

Row over bomb hoax during Mitterrand's visit to London

LONDON (Reuters). — The discovery of explosives planted in London by a French security man has sparked a diplomatic row during the visit of President François Mitterrand to Britain.

Scotland Yard Police headquarters announced Wednesday night that unprimed explosives had been found at the French ambassador's residence on Tuesday night, shortly before a reception given by Mitterrand for the French community here.

A police spokeswoman said one of Mitterrand's bodyguards had admitted planting the explosives to test British security.

Security for Mitterrand's visit was especially tight and under close scrutiny following the bomb attack in Brighton 13 days ago by Irish guerrillas, which narrowly missed killing Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and many government ministers.

The explosives incident triggered a flow of protests from angered British politicians, while a Foreign Office spokesman said the French embassy was being asked for "clarification."

"Once again people enjoying diplomatic immunity have committed criminal offences," Conservative John Wheeler said in a radio interview.

He said the French ambassador, Emmanuel de Margerie, should give an explanation and should leave Britain if he was involved in any way.

George Foulkes, Labour opposition spokesman on Europe, said: "In the light of the tragic events in

Brighton, it must rate as the most sick thing to happen for years."

The bodyguard who planted the explosives was released without charge after questioning.

"The French put our ability to the test by planting two amounts of explosive substances in the grounds of the residence," the police spokeswoman said in a statement.

French officials have remained silent so far on the incident, which is likely to reflect badly on the presidential trip, made on the 80th anniversary of the Entente Cordiale between France and Britain.

Before the incident, officials said the mainly ceremonial visit was going well. Mitterrand addressed a joint session of Parliament and held talks with Thatcher Wednesday.



French President Francois Mitterrand. (Camera Press)

UK court impounds all mine union assets

LONDON (AP). — A high court judge yesterday ordered the seizure of all assets of the striking National Union of Mineworkers for refusing to pay a £200,000 fine for contempt.

The order by Judge David Nicholls to accountants to sequester the union's multi-million-pound assets came as new talks aimed at ending the seven-month-old coal strike began between the union and the state-run National Coal Board.

The sequestration order followed the union's failure to pay by Wednesday's deadline.

Nicholls imposed the fine October 10 after miners leader Arthur Scargill defied a ruling by the judge declaring the strike illegal in two counties because there had been no

nationwide strike vote by the union's 183,000 miners.

The order was the second blow to the union in two days. On Wednesday the union for the 17,000 miners' foremen called off a strike that had paralyzed the entire industry.

The one-fourth of Britain's 175 state-owned mines which have continued working through the strike could not have continued without foremen, who make safety checks required by law.

Earlier, police reported 17 police officers injured in battles with pickets in England's northern coalfields.

The miners have struck over plans by the National Coal Board to close unprofitable mines.

Demonstrators demand Marcos resign

MANILA (Reuters). — About 10,000 people demanding the resignation of President Ferdinand Marcos marched to central Manila yesterday to protest against official reports on last year's murder of Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino.

The demonstrators, chanting "Marcos resign" and waving red and yellow flags, were led by the dead man's widow, Corason Aquino, and his brother, Agapito, who said the president should have been implicated.

"I remember one U.S. president

involved in a cover-up who quit," Agapito said in reference to Richard Nixon and Watergate. "Our president was involved in the planning, execution and cover-up of a crime."

He said protest marches would continue with or without official permission.

The report released Wednesday by four of the five members of an inquiry commission said the armed forces chief of staff, General Fabian Ver, two more generals, 22 soldiers and a civilian were part of a conspiracy to kill Aquino.

Relief bid for Ethiopian drought victims

ADDIS ABABA (Reuters). — Military aircraft are being used in the first stage of a planned massive airlift of food to drought-stricken areas of Ethiopia inaccessible by road, official relief sources said yesterday.

This follows an appeal 24 hours earlier by the government's Relief and Rehabilitation Commission calling for an international airborne operation, saying time was running out for many of the 6,400,000 people facing starvation in the country's worst drought for 10 years.

In an unprecedented step, the commission began using two Soviet-built Antonov military transport aircraft to ferry emergency supplies to some 50,000 persons seeking shelter

in the northern town of Makalle, the sources said.

The government previously relied on truck convoys to get food aid to the hungry, but the prospect that next month's harvest would be the worst in 20 years has given new urgency to relief efforts, they added.

The U.N. World Food Programme warned that almost 1,000,000 Ethiopians could die unless there was a huge supply of food aid by the end of November.

The two military aircraft, capable of carrying some 20 tons of food each, are flying four times a day from the Red Sea port of Asmara, where food has been landed, to Makalle in drought-hit Tigray province.

Greenpeace's target: Soviet whaling fleet

MADRID (Reuters). — The international environmental organization Greenpeace said yesterday its ship Sirius had taken position in the Straits of Gibraltar to try to block the passage of a Soviet whaling fleet.

In a statement issued here, Greenpeace said the Soviet fleet proceeding from Odessa for Atlantic waters included the 23,000-ton factory ship

Sovietskaya Ukraina and several catchers equipped with cold harpoons, outlawed by the International Whaling Commission in 1983.

It said the fleet intended to catch 3,000 whales.

"The action will be very difficult and dangerous due to the size, speed and strength of the huge factory ship," it added.

Second painting damaged in Dallas art museum

DALLAS (Reuters). — Two holes were found punched in a valuable American painting yesterday in the Dallas Museum of Art just three weeks after a 30-centimeter gash was found in a painting on loan from France, the museum reported.

The museum said someone apparently used a pen to punch holes through the eyes of the man depicted in the portrait *Judson Smith* painted

by American artist Andrew Dasburg, who lived from 1887 to 1979.

The museum said the \$25,000 portrait would cost about \$1,000 to repair.

On October 2, a gash was discovered in *The Garden*, a painting included in an exhibition of the works of French post-impressionist Pierre Bonnard.

Renewed rioting in S. Africa as gov't defends crackdown

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters). — South Africa yesterday defended a crackdown on riot-stricken townships and said it was committed to political reforms in black communities as renewed rioting and arson erupted around the country.

The police in Pretoria said there was an arson attack on a school at Fort Beaufort township and a youth and a policeman were hurt at Kaitshong, where the police used rubber bullets and birdshot to quell rioting.

Violence was reported at three other townships near Johannesburg Wednesday night. At Thabazana, a policeman fired tear gas to disperse a 1,000-strong mob that had barricaded a street.

Three townships where 7,000 policemen and soldiers moved in and arrested 358 persons on Tuesday were reported quiet yesterday as state-controlled Radio South Africa

defended the crackdown which has aroused an international outcry.

"The short-lived operation was nothing more than an effort to put a stop to continued lawlessness and thuggery," said the radio, which reflects government thinking.

It added: "South Africa has committed itself irrevocably to further constitutional reform involving black communities."

Political analysts said the reforms the government had in mind stopped short of admitting the country's 73 per cent black majority to representation in parliament.

However, Professor Robert Schrire of Cape Town University's politics department said some sort of political reform was the government's highest priority, as it sought to ease tension in townships where 80 persons have died in three months of rioting.

Tutu's son wins false-arrest suit

PRETORIA (AP). — The son of Nobel Peace laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu has won an out-of-court settlement against the police, who held him for 60 hours even though a physician cleared him of drunken driving.

Pretoria Supreme Court Justice J. Krieger approved the settlement in which the Ministry of Law and Order will pay 28-year-old Trevor Tutu 3,000 rand (\$1,680).

Tutu sued the ministry for false

arrest, but the settlement was reached Wednesday after three days of testimony.

Tutu testified that policemen forced him to sleep on the floor, without a blanket, in an empty cell, and refused to permit him to call his lawyer or family.

After he was arrested in April 1982, he was found to be sober, according to testimony by the examining physician.

Indian politician's illness causes suicides

NEW DELHI (Reuters). — The serious illness of a south Indian politician leader who was a cult hero has driven two more people to suicide, The Press Trust of India reported yesterday.

The two set fire to themselves in the state of Tamil Nadu, where Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran has been seriously ill for the last three weeks.

PTI quoted the police as saying the men were dispirited over

Ramachandran's health.

Since he came close to death with kidney failure, six persons have died by self-immolation and at least two more are in hospital with serious burns.

Before entering politics in the late 1960s, Ramachandran was one of India's most popular film heroes.

He is Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's chief ally in Tamil Nadu, where his support is crucial for her success in national elections due by January.

Two U.S. airmen rescued after plane crash

SEOUL (AP). — A U.S. Air Force F-4E Phantom jet fighter crashed yesterday off South Korea's western coast, but the plane's two crew members parachuted safely, U.S. Forces Korea announced.

The announcement said the crash

occurred after the plane took off from Osan Air Base, south of Seoul. It said the crew members were picked up by a South Korean fishing boat and were transferred for observation to the air base hospital by a helicopter.

Grenadians celebrate their 'deliverance'

ST GEORGE'S, Grenada (Reuters). — A year ago yesterday U.S. troops led an invasion of Grenada to overthrow its Marxist government, one of President Ronald Reagan's most dramatic actions.

The interim government installed on the Caribbean island after the invasion did not plan any celebration.

The head of the government, Nicholas Brathwaite, said: "We believe that if any group wants to show appreciation in a spontaneous way, it is better then if the government should enter and organize things."

The Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, however, commemorated the occasion as a "day of deliverance."

"It is most appropriate that Grenadians should thank God for his deliverance effected last October through our friends in the Caribbean and the United States," Father Cyril

Lamontagne said.

Just after 3:30 a.m. last October 25, Grenadians awoke to see foreign paratroopers dropping from helicopter gunships in the area around Point Salines airport.

The invasion ended the first avowedly Marxist administration in the English-speaking Caribbean, established in 1979 when a group of intellectuals led by Maurice Bishop toppled the right-wing government of Sir Eric Gairy.

Bishop, as the new prime minister, moved quickly to establish close ties with Cuba and the Soviet Union, and fell foul of the U.S., which described Grenada as a potential aircraft carrier for Cuban operations in Latin America or Africa.

But there were differences within Bishop's New Jewel Movement. On October 19, 1983, army commander the Hudson Austin seized power after a

New York Mafia group charged after FBI probe

NEW YORK (Reuters). — Leaders of New York's Colombo "crime family" have been indicted in a federal court after a three-year undercover operation in which an FBI agent posed as a wealthy buyer of stolen goods while others spied on a pasta-import business.

"We have the Mafia on the run," U.S. attorney-general William French Smith declared as he announced a 51-count indictment of 11 Colombo "family" members involving charges of racketeering, extortion, theft and bribery of federal officials.

The "family," named after Joseph Colombo, a reputed crime boss who died in 1978 of gunshot wounds received seven years earlier, has operated as one of the city's biggest crime groups for more than 50 years.

Among the 11 indicted were the group's alleged boss, Carmine "The Snake" Persico, 51; his reputed underboss, Gennaro "Gerry Lang" Langelia, 45; and his alleged chief adviser, Thomas "The Old Man"

Dibella, 78. The other eight included two leaders of labour unions.

According to federal officials, an undercover agent posing as a rich buyer of stolen goods entertained suspects aboard a yacht while their conversations were tape-recorded.

In the other operation, the FBI set up electronic surveillance of a pasta-import business used by reputed members of the Colombo group.

The indictments alleged that one member of the crime family extorted money from restaurants in Manhattan, including \$7,500 from the luxury Sherry Netherland on Fifth Avenue.

Officials said the Colombo family was the third largest of the five organized crime families operating out of New York City.

According to the indictment, the family had infiltrated the city's economy and operated a huge loan-sharking operation in which it seized homes of people who failed to meet weekly interest payments.

Polish official to be charged in the kidnapping of priest

WARSAW (Reuters). — An Interior Ministry official detained in connection with the kidnapping of Father Jerzy Popieluszko will face formal charges, government spokesman Jerzy Urban said yesterday.

Urban, who spoke to Polish journalists at a news conference, did not specify the charges to be brought against the official, identified only as Grzegorz P.

The spokesman said strands of hair belonging to the Warsaw priest had been found by the police in a car thought to have been used in the abduction.

Grzegorz P. was provisionally arrested Wednesday for being absent without leave, falsifying an en-

try in the log book of his official car and failing to provide an alibi for the day of Popieluszko's abduction.

The priest was seized near the northern town of Torun on October 19 by three men, one of them disguised as a policeman.

Popieluszko's driver, Waldemar Chrostowski, who escaped the abductors, Wednesday night inspected six cars at police headquarters and said two could have been used in the kidnapping, according to Urban.

A police dog picked up Chrostowski's scent in one car which Urban said had been used by Grzegorz P.

\$6m. loot found in abandoned car

SAN FRANCISCO (Reuters). — Gold coins, platinum bars and cash worth a total of nearly \$6 million have been found in a car parked at San Francisco Airport since October 1, officials said yesterday.

Traces of cocaine were also discovered, leading investigators to believe the money could have been used to finance a major drug deal.

The money was found when a car rental company worker came to the airport to pick up the vehicle. Officials of the Drug Enforcement Administration declined to say who had rented the car.

The worker, who discovered the money, said she "talked to God and asked him what I should do."

"I guess I am just an honest person. It wouldn't have been right to have kept it," added the worker, who preferred to remain anonymous.

"I called my boss and we called the police and that was it."

Top Turks resign

ANKARA (Reuters). — Prime Minister Turgut Ozal announced that Interior Minister Ali Tanriyar had resigned yesterday and that Finance Minister Vural Arıkan would offer his resignation today.

The resignations follow what Turkish press is calling a customs scandal in which Arıkan has accused Tanriyar of not preventing maltreatment by police of senior Finance Ministry officials arrested last month.

The finance minister told parliament Wednesday that "certain dominant forces" were violating the principles of the state of law.



The new look in Yves Saint-Laurent's spring ready-to-wear show yesterday in Paris — a silk jump suit printed with palms. (UPI telephoto)

Seoul students riot

SEOUL, South Korea (AP). — Angry students shouted anti-government slogans and sang protest songs in demonstrations yesterday on the campus of the National University here despite a massive police guard.

There were no reports of physical violence, but campus sources said scores of students were led away by policemen.

More than 6,000 riot policemen and plainclothes agents moved on to the campus of South Korea's most prestigious school on Wednesday after university officials said they were unable to control disorders and asked for intervention.

For more than a week, many students had been boycotting examinations to protest the expulsion of leaders of earlier demonstrations.

28 tons of cocaine seized by Colombia

BOGOTA (Reuters). — Narcotics agents have seized more than 28 tons of cocaine in Colombia since the government began a crackdown on drug traffickers six months ago, an official report said yesterday.

Some 3,197 tons of marijuana had been confiscated and 211 clandestine jungle laboratories destroyed between May 1 and October 15, the report added.

President Belisario Betancur declared "war without armistice" on drugs after justice minister Rodrigo Lara Bonilla was killed on April 30 by suspected drug traffickers.

Sports Haifa fever

By PAUL KOHN

TEL AVIV. — Football fever gripped Haifa this week as the city's National League teams, Maccabi and Hapoel, are to clash in a league derby game on Saturday, for the first time this decade. Thus Haifa fans will claim to the match of the day for the second week in succession, and a 10,000 crowd at least is confidently expected at the Kiryat Haim stadium.

For any student of the football form book, the result of this match is merely a matter of how many goals the Maccabees manage to put into the Hapoel net. But on the field things may turn out somewhat different. Maccabi Haifa are indeed the undisputed league champions — a title won while Hapoel Haifa were still floundering in the second division — and are currently top of the table. Judged by the football provided so far this season, no team deserves to win the league more than Maccabi Haifa.

But Hapoel Haifa have very quietly crept up the National League table into third place, a mere three points behind the illustrious and headline-making Maccabi stars. Maccabi have scored 14 goals in five games; Hapoel three. But a careful study of the for and against goals columns show that Maccabi have conceded seven goals to Hapoel's one goal.

The starting Hapoel defence will face the stiffest task yet, with Zahi Arad, Mike Selskov, Ronnie Rosenthal and Baruch Maron vowing to show the world who Haifa's No. 1 really are. Hapoel have scored 11 goals in five games, but their goals are mostly from set pieces, and their defence is sure to provide stout resistance to the Maccabi sharpshooters.

In Netanyahu, the home Maccabi side will find a team prepared to the first division, Hapoel Petah Tikva. Netanyahu will be off to signal to Haifa that their eight goals in two games were no flash in the pan, and with David Lurie, Moshe Garsiel, Benny Lurie and Yehonatan Ben-David, they will be a formidable team. Netanyahu's defence is sure to provide stout resistance to the Maccabi sharpshooters.

But Jerusalem face the third promoted team in Hapoel Kfar Sava. The Sharon team is capable of good football on its best days, but their finishing power in attack has been severely disappointing. Betar's Eli Ohana, Moshe Zeldman, and Betar hope, a fit Uri Mahdian — has been one of the team's best players — should be good enough to help Haifa to Jerusalem fans.

Rush in a hurry

LONDON (Reuters). — Liverpool striker Ian Rush stole the limelight from West Germany's leading soccer clubs Wednesday night with a hat-trick for his struggling side, their 3-1 victory over Benfica.

But, though the Welsh international's scoring feat — his second match after a marriage operation — will send a shiver down the spines of Liverpool's future opponents, discerning critics will also have noted the collective revival of the Bundesliga contingent.

In the opening rounds of this season's competitions, West German champions Stuttgart were knocked out of the Champions' Cup by Leeds United, while Bayern Munich, the team's form was causing great concern.

But, last night, a week after the national team's 2-0 World Cup win over Sweden, the atmosphere changed dramatically with Allger West German clubs winning and losing a total of 13 goals between them in the process.

The only disappointment for the Germans came in Muenchenbach, where Borussia, despite the brilliance of new international Jens Rasmussen, could only beat Wiener Lodge of Austria 3-2 in the UEFA Cup.

Hamburg, 1983 European champions, led a comfortable 4-0 UEFA Cup win over CSKA Sofia of Bulgaria despite the absence of first-team players through injury and suspension.

Bayern Munich's new striker, Roland Wohlfarth, a replacement for Karl-Heinz Rummenigge, scored twice in the 4-1 win over TSV Preußen of Bulgaria in the Cup-Winners' Cup. Perhaps the most impressive West German performance of the night was Cologne's 2-0 win over Standard Liege with Pierre Littbarski and Uwe Bein scoring the goals.

OTHER RESULTS: Copenhagen 2, Brønshøj 1; Fiorentina 2, Lazio 1; Juventus 2, Sampdoria 0; Dinamo Berlin 3, Austria Vienna 1; Levski Spartak 3, Dnepropetrovsk 1; Dynamo Moscow 2, Spartak Moscow 1; Dynamo Moscow 2, Spartak Moscow 1; Dynamo Moscow 2, Spartak Moscow 1; Dynamo Moscow 2, Spartak Moscow 1.

Indian ecstasy

FAISALABAD, Pakistan (Reuters). — Sanjay Patel and Ravi Shastri lashed sparkling centuries and set a record fifth-wicket stand for India against Pakistan to put their side in control of the century. The match ended in a 1-1 draw.

Patel hit a brilliant 127 while Shastri put together an unbeaten 187 as India carried their first innings total to 484 for nine at the close of play on the second day.

Rugby starts

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. — The Israel Rugby Football Union's 1984/85 national league season got underway tomorrow with the participation of seven clubs in what will be the 12th year of annual competition.

For the first time since its inauguration, the league will be played off on a triple — instead of double — round-robin basis. Hapoel Tel Aviv, which won the title last year, will be the defending champion. The season will end with a final match between the two teams.

In tomorrow's opening matches, Hapoel Tel Aviv will start the fifth straight defence of their championship title against Kiryat Shmona at home, while Kfar Haim host ASA Tel Aviv.

Some games kick off at 2 p.m. The Hebrew University, ASA Tel Aviv and Kiryat Shmona (previously Kibbutz Ha'arava) all play their first fixtures next weekend.

Davis Cup final

LONDON (Reuters). — The tennis world will see the final of the Davis Cup between Sweden's Mats Wilander and the United States' Jimmy Connors when the match is played at Wimbledon on Sunday.

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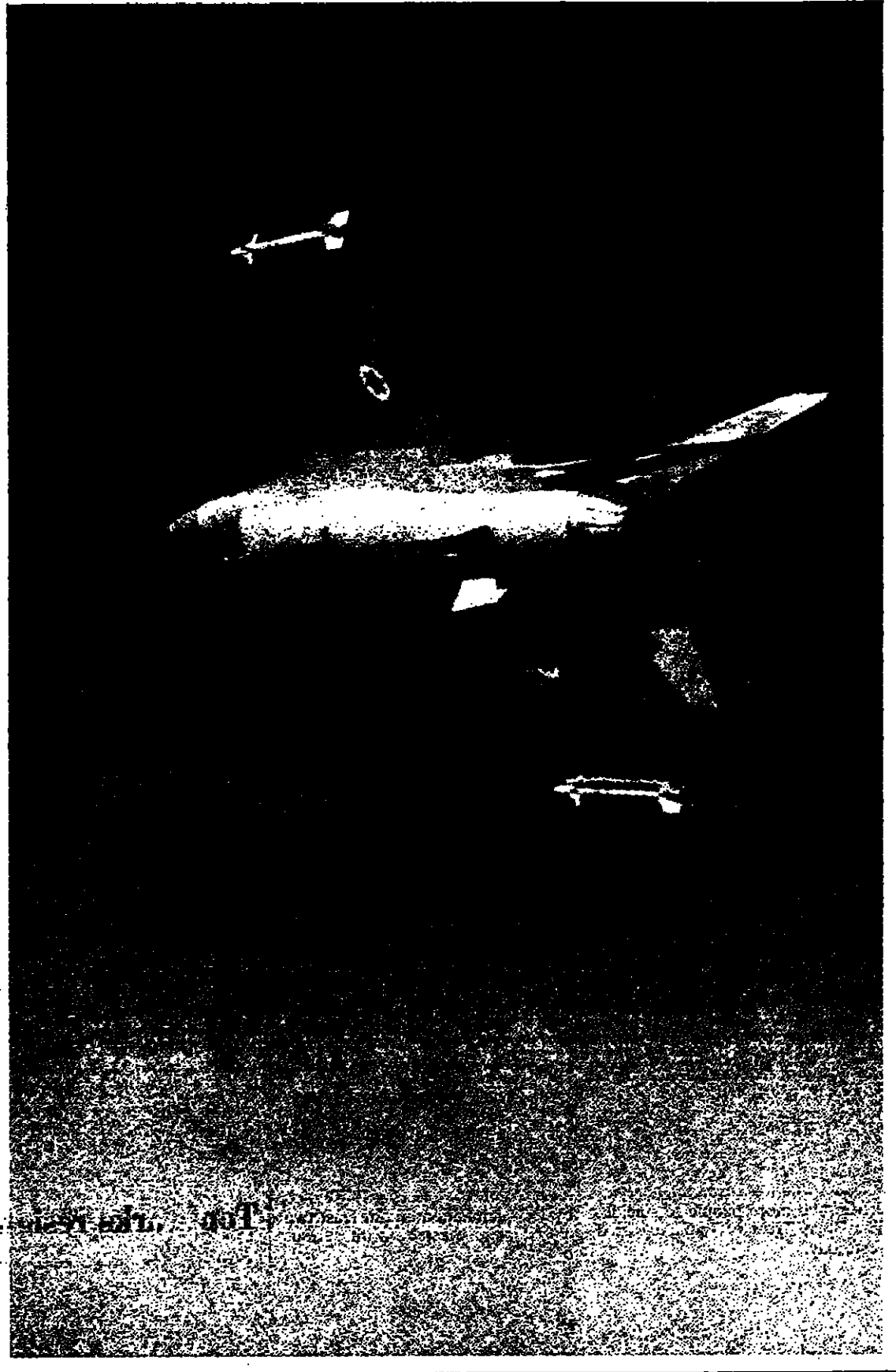
Sybil Zimmerman

Author of Wonders of a Wonder

Focus

PACKAGE DEAL WITH WASHINGTON

What must be done to lead Israel's economy back to equilibrium and growth, asks Post Economic Editor Meir Merhav in the last of four articles on the current crisis.



THE PRESENT economic crisis, one would have thought, should have elicited a bold effort to restore stability at least in the short run, even if the reordering of national priorities that is needed to grapple with its basic causes is beyond the political capabilities of the present lame-duck government that, for some reason, is called one of "national unity."

It was not to be. The government's decision, last Tuesday, to embrace the Sanbar-Gafny plan of a shekel-based "package deal" signals a return to the well-trodden path of gradualism that has never led anywhere and has brought us to the present crisis. Muddling through one more time is the watchword.

The public expected more, and was ready to pay a price for it. But instead of a comprehensive recovery programme, with stabilization as its first step, it has been presented with a plan to slow down, not to stop, inflation. The wildest hopes from this plan are that inflation will be slowed, within six months, to an annual 200 per cent—as if that gallop could be a steady and comfortable canter.

The plan rests on three pillars, none of which has a foundation: a cut in real wages that is indeterminate because its size will depend on the inflation rate; a price restraint (but no freeze) for which no mechanism of enforcement has been specified; increasing the budget cuts from the \$800m. already decided upon to \$1.7b., with the total to be spaced out over two-three years.

The wage cut, because it is indeterminate, will not hold even if negotiated and agreed to by the Histadrut. With inflation racing on, albeit at a slower pace, wage erosion will be such that within a few months there will be an outcry for compensation that is likely to end up in over-compensation. The nexus between productivity and real wages that might have been restored by price stabilization will once again disappear under the far bigger claims for compensation.

The linchpin of any "package deal," price restraint, is a bundle of reeds, with nothing to hold them together. Voluntary price restraint is nothing to lean upon, even at an inflation rate far lower than the one we have. An administrative control mechanism does not exist; what we have will rubberstamp price increases based on claims that costs have gone up as output was cut down. Competitive imports are preceded by the dismal state of the payments balance. The voluntary restraint that is the "most one" can hope for will merely cumulate the pressures for price increases and make them erupt again later.

The budget cuts have the main purpose of improving the balance of payments, if the Liviatan-Pitman study discussed in a previous article is right. This will make it possible for the government to refrain from pushing inflation up. The contemplated cuts, however, will do no such thing. Firing teachers and clerks will have no great impact on our import bill—for that purpose, the budget cuts would have to be where the import component is high. The real thrust of the budget cuts is different: it is to create a "reserve army of unemployed" that will exert a downward pressure on wages. Even that effect is doubtful.

The policy option chosen by the government may stave off immediate disaster, with the help of more American aid, but it programmes the next eruption of crisis—in conditions, domestic and external, that

may be worse. What could and should have been done now will have to be done later; its discussion remains topical.

All the economic recovery programmes that have been proposed, including the denatured version that has now been adopted, are anchored in a cut of real wages and government spending. The former is to cut the wage-price spiral and stop inflation, to throttle aggregate demand back to the level of available resources, and to free resources and divert them to investment and exports. The latter is primarily to relieve the pressure on the payments balance, directly as well as indirectly (through cutting back on aggregate demand) so that the government will not have to trade in inflation pushes for improvements in the payments balance. Budget cuts have the additional purpose (which is rarely stated frankly and instead is presented as an unavoidable by-product) of creating unemployment so as to keep real wages from rising again.

WHY WAGE CUTS, and practically only wage cuts? It is unfair, say those who believe that one can and must go by the rule of "women and children first," even if the boat capsize and the captain has scuttled off with the only lifeboat.

It is indeed unfair. Wages account for perhaps half, perhaps two thirds of total consumption. To cut average consumption by 10 per cent means that, if it is to be done by wage reductions alone, real wages would have to be slashed by as much as 20 per cent. It is also unfair because wages do not lead inflation; they follow it, at least most of the time.

A candid answer would be that the captain who steered us onto the cliffs has also locked the steering wheel and broken the pump. It would be to abandon the metaphor—that in the face of immediate crisis, there is no way of soaking the rich now for their share in the sacrifices that must be made to enable us merely to carry on, let alone free resources to be diverted to investment and growth.

A candid answer would be that even if we did not have a government produced by political stalemate and unable to set up a new order of national priorities, there would be no way out of cutting real wages immediately. Structural change cannot be wrought overnight. Straightening out the economy's crooked skeleton takes time, and a plaster cast of real resources to hold it up in the meantime. The restoration of stability was and is the imperative. A cut in real wages, finite and thereby negotiable and acceptable, combined with a price freeze made enforceable by the restoration of a unit of account that would at least for a time be stable, and budget cuts aimed at improving the payments balance, would have achieved that purpose.

There was a chance of that. It has now been muffed by the government. Next time around it will be more difficult to go back to a solution along these lines. But short of a catastrophe that will force it destructively, it is difficult to see any other way out.

Let us, therefore, suppose that last Tuesday never happened, and that the government, instead of making sure that inflation will run on, has embarked on a policy of stopping it in its tracks. What must be done to make sure that it will not break out again? What are the basic causes of our chronic "living beyond our means"? What change is needed in the allocation of resources between public and private consumption, investment and exports to lead us back to equilibrium and growth?

Can our problem be solved by eradicating inefficiencies that no doubt exist, but that are finite and therefore no increasing drain on resources? Does salvation lie in cutting down on an already inadequate education budget (the investment in the only resource we ultimately have—human capital)? On already deficient health services? On transfer payments that, in part, are a subsidy to wage costs and, in part, a well-earned reward for a lifetime of work or a minimum contribution to social solidarity in supporting the weak? Can consumption standards, including the public services that are part of the quality of life, be depressed in an open society to a level that is permanently, or for a long time, below what conforms to the performance expected of that society?

What is the real drain on our resources? What has choked off investment, fuelled inflation and driven the balance of payments into ever deeper crisis in the past decade? Is it an accident that, except in 1979, these shocks always came in the wake of higher defence expenditures?

ISRAEL'S GROSS capital formation sank from an average of about 33 per cent of the gross national product in 1965-74 to about 22 per cent in the last decade—barely enough to keep the capital stock from shrinking. The defence burden, which before the Six Day War was 10 per cent of the gross national product (and 6 per cent in terms of domestic defence expenditure), has jumped to 20-25 per cent since then

(or 15 per cent on average in recent years in domestic cost alone). If repayment of defence loans and the expenditure of united foreign currency are included, the burden is 20 per cent of the gross national product.

The figures probably understate the true defence burden: they do not include the potential output lost. Much of what is statistically recorded as civilian consumption or investment is not included. The conservatively estimated defence burden is roughly equivalent to gross capital formation; its increase since 1967 is roughly equal to the fall in capital formation. At the same time, private consumption has slightly increased its share in the gross national product, from an average of 61 per cent in 1965-74 to some 63-64 per cent in the last decade, while civilian

public consumption has shown a slightly declining trend in recent years.

A 10 per cent cut in private consumption is needed just to bring our payments balance back to a tolerable normalcy. The shrunken income would not provide the savings for the investments needed for renewed growth. The resources for growth would have to come from somewhere else.

We have a choice between accepting a Spartan economy and rethinking our national priorities. Most of those who so insistently call for budget cuts are coy when it comes to specifying where the cuts should be made, although in private many will point to defence. Prof. Haim Ben-Shahar of Tel Aviv University is a notable exception—he recently came out publicly with a call for a cut of \$700-800m. in the defence budget, based on a reorientation of foreign and defence policy.

THERE ARE, essentially, three ways of going about cutting defence expenditure—leaving out those cuts that may be possible by trimming the fat from the system, which is no doubt as bloated as its civilian counterparts, if not more. The first is a switch to a more aggressive, more short-tempered defence doctrine, with a smaller, even more weapons-intensive and mobile army, that would be quicker on the trigger. Instead of a deterrent posture based on the ability to absorb a first strike, it would deter by signalling its readiness to strike as soon as a threat raised its head anywhere. Some Dr. Strangelove theories go even further along these lines. In any version, they may turn out to be more expensive.

The second alternative is to reduce our defence requirements by reducing the threats that confront us. That means not only getting out of the aftermath of a "war of choice" that costs us \$1,000,000 a day, but actively seeking an accommodation with Syria, opening a chance for negotiations with Jordan and improving relations with Egypt. It is not only, as Prof. Ben-Shahar said recently, a question of "reducing tensions" on the West Bank, but striving for a solution of the conflict with the Palestinians—which is the heart of the problem.

ANYTHING ALONG these lines is obviously beyond the capabilities of the present government, in which even a permit to set up an Arab bank in the occupied areas is stymied. But even if we had a firmly entrenched government prepared to go to great lengths to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, it would take an agonizingly long time before Israel could let up significantly on its defence posture. To reduce our defence burden to, say, 10 per cent of the gross national product—still two to three times as much as that of the Nato countries—would take years. A solution for the immediate economic crisis cannot be found there.

The ultimate causes of the conflict between us and the Palestinians and the Arab states may be partially of our own making, as well as theirs. But the level of the military confrontation, and the defence burden resulting from it, is not. It is determined in Washington as well as in Moscow, but in the last decade, primarily in the former. As long as the U.S. insists on recycling petrodollars by selling more and more sophisticated arms to our adversaries,

ies, with the Soviet Union of course also in that armaments race, the level of the threat that confronts us is constantly raised.

That not only forces Israel to match plane for plane, tank for tank and gun for gun with the quantitative disparity it has long accepted, but also to invest heavily in improvements that may give her a qualitative edge—and which sometimes end up being incorporated later in the arms supplied to our adversaries. Washington pays Israel a "tax" or "commission" on its recycling of petrodollars into arms in the form of military and economic aid that, together, this year amounts to a net total, after repayment of debts, of some \$1.5b.—less than a quarter of Israel's total defence burden. Aid to Israel not only buys Washington a freer hand constantly to raise the military balance of power and sell more arms. I believe that there is an additional return on the "tax" paid to Israel, which is the main proving ground for American conventional weapons systems: since Israel's requests for sophisticated hardware that may give her a qualitative edge cannot easily be turned down, she may in some areas and respects be a pacemaker for America's own arms industry.

Much has been made of America's generosity regarding aid for Israel and of Israel's dependence upon it. The sympathy and friendship that motivate the generosity; the concern that Israel must be enabled to counter the threat escalated for commercial and strategic reasons by the U.S. itself, even if it costs a "tax" America sees as heavy—these are no doubt genuine. Other arms suppliers have not only armed our adversaries—they have embargued us, even against hard cash.

Nevertheless, the function of American aid should be put in proper perspective. It impoverishes us. The U.S. would help us more, infinitely more, by limiting the arms race and getting together with the Soviets to that end. As long as it is not prepared to do that, we have a just claim for more aid, and a new "package deal" with the U.S.

THAT IS THE true bill we should be presenting to Washington—and not the bill for being a "strategic asset" that can only be put to use in extremes. Comparisons with what the U.S. pays for the defence of other allies, such as Prime Minister Shimon Peres made two weeks ago in the U.S., are shaky ground on which to ask the Americans to give us more aid. If they are our friends and allies—and they are—they should assume more of the load which they, in very large part, have constantly made heavier. It is a load heavier than that carried by any other nation on earth. It has bent our back, economically, and more than that.

None of the foregoing detracts from what we ourselves have to do to stand up straight again. If we can just look up instead of fixing our eyes on the ground, we may see that a Jewish empire is too big for the tiny State of Israel, and that we can, by our own efforts, ease our load—not enough, perhaps, to walk erect, but enough not to need crutches anymore. American aid will help, but they are not going to give us the keys to Fort Knox. We shall of necessity be thrown back upon our own resources, but we have to realize that the economy cannot be saved by economics alone. The sooner we do, the easier the task will be.

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PUBLIC FACES IN THE U.S. / Mark Segal

PRIME MINISTER Shimon Peres's highly successful American visit has left quite an impression. Peres projected an image of a civilized, moderate leader committed to peace.

I gather he established such a cordial relationship with President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz that they're again using that "once-famous chemistry" word. The Americans are said to be relieved after the years of preaching they got from ex-premier Menachem Begin and the hard line taken by his successor, Yitzhak Shamir. A major difference in the relationship is Peres's gifts as a raconteur, which even Shamir's fiercest admirers cannot claim for him.

An indication of how famously Peres got on with Reagan was the exchange of jokes between them at the White House working luncheon. Israeli and U.S. officials who have been in on top-level talks in recent years say this was the first time Reagan felt sufficiently at ease with his Israeli counterpart to trade jokes.

Peres broke the ice by relating that in the early 1960s, when he was deputy defence minister, he received a letter from a young man, son of the then Nicaraguan ruler, who asked for elaborate uniforms, gold braid, brass buttons, red epaulettes, scarlet bands and the like. When Peres asked which branch of the armed forces these trappings were destined for, Somoza Jr. replied, "Our covert, secret service."

The participants at the luncheon, all male, who cracked up at Reagan's Irish version of the Cohen-the-spy joke, included such administration VIPs as Shultz, Treasury Secretary Donald Regan and National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, plus members of Peres's entourage, including Ambassador Meir Rosenfeld.

I'm told that Shultz was so impressed with Peres's presentation of Israel's predicament that he reportedly observed, "It's a long time since Israel had a premier so involved in its economic plight."

Peres and Shultz got on so well that the U.S. Secretary of State stayed an hour longer than scheduled — which not only caused agony

among secretarial staff but embarrassed Israeli Embassy organizers of Peres's visit, since it meant keeping powerful Senate Republican majority leader Howard Baker cooling his heels in the waiting room.

I gather that Shultz and Congress leaders were impressed by Peres's presentation of plans for an improved "quality of life" for Arabs on the West Bank.

PERES WORKED as hard on the U.S. trip as he does in Jerusalem, managing to project an image of Israel close to that projected by David Ben-Gurion and Golda Meir: reasonableness combined with strength.

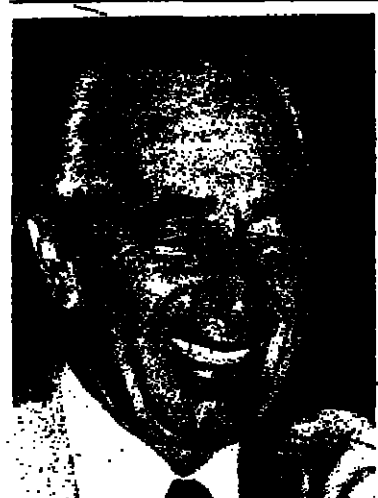
He received unprecedented media exposure, appearing on all three networks and, equally unusual, Ted Koppel's entire prestigious *Nightline* ABC programme was given over to an interview with him. Koppel usually has three or four personalities played off against each other.

Peres's meeting with top media people recorded the most amiable ambience in any such encounter with an Israeli politico in many years. As NBC News Vice President Art Kent told me, "It was like the good old days."

One index of Peres's success with the U.S. press was a sizeable group of top *Washington Post* newsmen, who flew specially to Manhattan for a joint briefing with *Newsweek* people.

Carefully bipartisan, Peres had a cordial session with Democratic candidate Walter Mondale, and met successfully with Dr. Henry Kissinger and Cyrus Vance. I am told that when the latter two met in the waiting room, Kissinger quipped: "You should know, you're my favourite secretary of state." Remarkably the Democrat: "I feel exactly the same way."

INCIDENTALLY, Peres's "new Israeli style" in America elicited comments on his stylish haircut and



Shimon Peres (Auerbach)

elegant suits, in stark contrast to the less than chic appearance of his predecessor. He was haunted by teams of German and French TV crews who followed him from Israel. He gave an interview to French television in advance of his impending visit to Paris to see his long-time pal, President François Mitterrand.

Peres did a tremendous PR job among the black media too. At a meeting with editors and leading black newsmen, *Amsterdam News* publisher Bill Tatum queried him on Israeli ties with South Africa. Peres went on record with a scathing attack on apartheid. "As Jews," he said, "we strongly condemn all racism, and apartheid in particular." This is something Likud ministers never enunciated.

PERES'S MOST telling point in explaining Israel's economic plight was his repetition of the fact that Israel's prime minister's salary is \$750, and the average workingman's pay \$250. In a city where the average monthly rent for a studio apartment is \$1,000 (for one room), that report made an

impact, whether on newsmen or on tycoons like Max Fisher, George Klein and Gordon Zacks or UJA leaders like Stephen Shalom.

Peres mentioned these sums in passing at a tea party with Jewish writers and intellectuals, the first such encounter with an Israeli premier since the days of Ben-Gurion. Writers present included E.L. Doctorow, Cynthia Ozick, Jerzy Kosciuszko, Howard Fast and Susan Sonntag, who was flattered when Peres quoted from one of her works. And Ozick was delighted when Peres told her he'd read her major writings.

The press rap also brought together Irving Kristol, Teddie White (*The Making of a President*), and such political far-aparts as the *New Republic's* Martin Peretz, *Midstream's* Joel Carmichael, *The New York Review of Books's* Bob Silver and *Moment's* Leonard Fein.

PERES ALSO met two top New York Democrats, Governor Mario Cuomo and Mayor Ed Koch, who told the premier, "I'm not giving advice, but if you ask me, you need two things — intelligence and the ability to say no to everybody."

The premier was very careful not to offend Orthodox sensibilities, walking to the Fifth Avenue synagogue on Shabbat with Consul General Natfali Lavie, his old press aide at the Ministry of Defence. Although as an Israeli he is not bound by extra holidays here, Peres drew attention on the second day of Succot by walking, surrounded by a phalanx of Israeli and American security men, the 20 blocks there and back to the Museum of Modern Art, accompanied by Cuomo's pal, Wall Street lawyer Leon Charney.

Lavie and his wife Joan held a big reception for Peres at their upper East Side apartment, with guests such as press tycoon Rupert Mur-



Ronald Reagan (Rubinger)

doch, pollster Daniel Yankelovich, AFL-CIO leader Sol Chaikin, *The New York Times's* Max Frankel, Jewish leaders like Kenneth Blau, and top Washington lawyer Leonard Garment and his wife, *Wall Street Journal* columnist Suzy Garment.

PERES'S PRESS coverage was a successful induction test for his new media counsellor, Uri Savir, who had five days to wrap up his affairs as press consul in Lavie's office, leaving his wife Aliza to do all the packing. Savir, 31, the son of ex-ambassador Leo Savir, completes the team of bright young men around Peres. Government Secretary Dr. Yosef Bellin and political adviser Dr. Nimrod Novick, are both in their mid-thirties.

Peres's New York visit went smoothly thanks to the organizational talents of the consulate-general's director of 14 years' standing, attractive Vera Golovinsky, who has served under four consuls general: David Rivlin, Uri Ben-Ari, Paul Kedat and now Lavie. Incidentally, I gather that one

concrete result of Peres's meeting with Cuomo will be the award of credits to New York students taking university courses in Israel.

I HAPPENED to be at the Regency Hotel when Abba Eban met Teddie White and asked him jocularly, "Are you planning to write *The Making of a Prime Minister*?" Eban was justifiably beaming; his TV series *Civilization and the Jews* is drawing an audience of 30,000,000, while the book, *Heritage*, is fifth on the non-fiction best-seller list.

I GATHER that relations in Peres's entourage were not entirely harmonious. Apparently, Prime Minister's Office Director General Avraham (Abrasha) Tamir was rather miffed at being left out of some top-level session and at the seating arrangements at the White House luncheon which placed him lower down than Ambassador Rosenfeld. It's no secret that Minister for (which?) Special Duties Ezer Weizman imposed ex-Yahad party secretary Tamir on an unwilling Peres for his first official trip to Washington.

Also gather that Tamir, as Peres's national security adviser, was equally put out that Defence Ministry Director General Menahem (Mandy) Meron was despatched as advance man to Washington, rather than himself.

FORMER U.S. PRESIDENT Jimmy Carter believes that "The rather dormant Middle East policy" of the Reagan Administration will change once Israel quits Southern Lebanon. The former president, just back from a triumphant Latin American tour, told me he was in communication with Peres, whom he praised for his firm intention to retrieve Israel from the Lebanon morass.

Compared to his Middle East initiatives, "Reagan has not done very much" in the region, Carter told me during a publication party in Atlanta's Hyatt Regency Hotel for *Special Counsel* by Leon Charney.

DURING PERES'S trip, his entourage were taken back by confessions of "We've never been members of the Likud" from two Likud appointees, new ambassador to the UN, Binjamin (Bibi) Netanyahu and Israel Bonds President Yehuda (George) Halevy. The former has just taken up his new post, while the latter's six-figure dollar contract is up for renewal in the coming year.

Halevy was picked by former finance minister Yoram Aridor, and Netanyahu was the protégé of the ex-envoy to Washington, Minister Moshe Arens, whose No. 2 he was in the capital and whom he replaced in running the Likud election fund-raising in the U.S.

Netanyahu has already proved a success in counter-attacking Israel's foes at the UN, and has won the hearts of New York socialites with his polished manners. People here are wondering whether in future Israel should prefer for its diplomatic postings people like Netanyahu, who has only spent one-third of his 36 years actually in Israel. He and Eitan's hero brother Yoni were raised in the U.S. by their father, Prof. Ben-Zion Netanyahu, who was Ze'ev Jabotinsky's secretary, and has lived off and on in the family's Talmud house, always ensuring that both sons returned to Israel to serve in the IDF. Binjamin acquired part of his polish at M.I.T., where Arens originally picked him out.

Much of the new ambassador's social success is attributed to the charms of his smartly-dressed second wife, Fleur. They met some years back, when the English-born daughter of German immigrants was spending a year in Israel and working as a secretary at the Sclerz plant in Herzliya.

At present the Netanyahus are staying at the \$500-a-day Regency Hotel while the million-dollar ambassador's residence on Fifth Avenue undergoes redecoration and the installment of new furnishings after being vacated by Prof. Yehuda Blum and his family. The Netanyahus, who have no children, have hired a husband-and-wife team to look after them, instead of the nanny who worked for the Blum family.

A learning experience

BY HYAM CORNEY / Post London Correspondent

WHEN BRITISH Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe arrives in Israel on Sunday, he will be only the third British foreign secretary to pay an official visit to Israel.

Before him came Labour's Dr. David Owen (now leader of the Social Democratic Party) and, two-and-a-half years ago, Lord Carrington.

A great deal has happened to Carrington since. On his return from Israel, he was immediately faced with the Falklands war, which led to his resignation from Margaret Thatcher's cabinet. Earlier this year, he returned to prominence when he was appointed secretary-general of Nato.

Sir Geoffrey is also the third foreign secretary to serve in Thatcher's cabinet since she came to office five years ago. Between him and Lord Carrington was Francis Pym. Never one of Thatcher's favourites, Pym was fired last year and is now confined to the back benches of the House of Commons.

Of the three, Sir Geoffrey is prob-

ably the best disposed to Israel. One leading Conservative told me that he regarded Lord Carrington as "not instinctively well disposed to Israel, but very fair-minded. Pym was instinctively hostile. Geoffrey is the friendliest."

That does not mean, however, that there has been any great change in Britain's Middle East policy since he took over. Rather it is a reflection of the man's character and general disposition. He is, by nature, friendly rather than abrasive.

GEOFFREY HOWE was born in Wales and still retains the Welsh lilt in his speech (though it is not as pronounced as that of fellow Welshman Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock). He was educated at Winchester, an exclusive British school, and at Cambridge, where he received an MA and a law degree. From 1946 to 1948, he served as a lieutenant with the East African Signals Corps.

After leaving the army he pursued a legal career. He was called to the bar in 1952 and appointed a queen's

counsel in 1965. In 1970, then-prime minister Edward Heath appointed him solicitor-general in his cabinet.

SIR GEOFFREY first stood for parliament in 1955, but it was not until nine years later that he was successful. Two years later, in the 1966 elections, he lost his seat, but returned to parliament in 1970. For the past 10 years he has represented the constituency of East Surrey, near London, where at the last election he had a comfortable majority of over 15,000.

In addition to being solicitor-general for two years, he has also been minister for trade and consumer affairs and, until he became foreign secretary, chancellor of the exchequer.

His move to the Foreign Office last year was something of a surprise as he had never shown any real interest, or aptitude, in foreign affairs. He was chosen, it was generally felt, because after losing Carrington and Pym and having suffered the traumas of the Falklands war, Thatcher needed someone reliable whom she could trust. Sir Geoffrey fitted that bill.

True, he had gained some knowledge of international affairs when, as chancellor of the exchequer, he attended frequent meetings of the International Monetary Fund. But to a large extent, foreign affairs was foreign to him when he assumed office in June, 1983.

In those 16 months, there is generally considered to have been an improvement in the atmosphere between Britain and Israel, though there has been no substantive change in Britain's Middle East policy.

This was brought home by Sir Geoffrey himself earlier this month in a major speech to the Conservative Friends of Israel. He repeated Britain's call for a freeze on settlements and the easing of travel and other restrictions on the Palestinians. He repeated his belief in "the basic insight" of the Venice Declaration of the European Community and he said that the Palestinians should be involved in any negotiations.

THERE WERE, of course, friendly gestures — praise for Israel's "enormous achievements" and "vigorous democracy," praise for the contribution that Jews of British origin have made to Israel's political and cultural life, and reference to "the con-



Geoffrey Howe (COO)

tinuing cooperation between Israel and the European Community," to which he attached "the greatest importance."

Close observers of Foreign Office statements on the Middle East, while conceding that the speech did not signal any new departures, have pointed out that there was a welcome absence of any real reference this time to the PLO (other than a call on the organization to renounce violence).

Instead, the term "Palestinians" was substituted. And he did tell the Palestinians that they had to accept that "some of their cherished demands are unattainable."

Sir Geoffrey is not coming to Israel with any magic solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute. Indeed, that is not his style. He prefers slow, patient negotiations — as he demonstrated in his talks recently with China over the future of Hong Kong.

SIR GEOFFREY himself explained the purpose of the visit when he addressed the Conservative Friends of Israel lunch in Brighton earlier this month. He was, he said, going to Israel "ready to listen and learn, to make new contacts and to build up existing ones." It is not seen, either in Whitehall or in Jerusalem, as an attempt to move the search for peace forward but rather as an expression of good will.

His official host will be his opposite number, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, whom he met recently at the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

His programme will begin with a visit to Yad Vashem and will also include a courtesy call on President Chaim Herzog and talks with the prime minister and the defence, finance and foreign ministers. He will be the guest of the Speaker at a lunch at the Knesset and of Shamir at a dinner. He will also be seeing the north of the country and visiting a kibbutz.

Sir Geoffrey will also visit the British consulate in East Jerusalem where he will be meeting Palestinian leaders. But, as the Foreign Office emphasized when it first announced the visit, he will not be meeting any PLO members.

Lady Howe will accompany Sir Geoffrey. She will make a separate trip to Ashkelon, the town "adopted" by the British Jewish community in the Project Renewal scheme. She will be accompanied by Mrs. Shamir and also by Mrs. Yehuda Avner, wife of Israel's ambassador in London.

Apart from his wife, Sir Geoffrey will also be accompanied by three senior Foreign Office officials who deal with the Middle East.

It will be Sir Geoffrey's first opportunity since becoming foreign secretary to take a close look at the Israeli side of the Middle East dispute, having earlier this year been to three Arab countries.

WHAT DOES Israel want him to hear? High on the agenda of his official talks will be Jerusalem's assessment of the balance of power in the region and, in particular, its views on the arms race. Sir Geoffrey arrives in Israel just as his colleague, Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine, leaves Amman, where he has been trying to sell arms. That visit, combined with Britain's still-existing arms embargo on Israel, will also no doubt be raised by his Israeli hosts.

They will also want Sir Geoffrey to know how they see their relations with each of the Arab countries involved and will want to persuade him of the importance of Israel as a stabilizing factor.

Finally, there will be the bilateral issues. In his Brighton speech, Sir Geoffrey drew attention to the growing trade relations between the two countries and welcomed the fact that Britain's share of the Israeli market grew last year: "We are on the lookout for further opportunities," he added, and said that there must be "plenty of scope for joint ven-

tures" in the field of high technology.

While welcoming this, the Israeli side will not want to lose the opportunity of raising with him Britain's attitude to the Arab boycott.

Israel will also seek Britain's support for measures to soften the impact on Israel's agricultural exports when Spain and Portugal eventually enter the European Community.

THERE REMAIN, of course, sharp political differences between Jerusalem and London not least on the settlements issue, and while these are bound to be raised by both sides, no one in either capital sees the visit as being one of possible confrontation, as might have been the case a few years ago.

Britain still feels that it has a role to play in the Arab-Israeli dispute, particularly as part of the EC, but it no longer believes that outside parties can come in and attempt to impose solutions. And while it continues to pay lip-service to the Community's Venice Declaration (Sir Geoffrey even included a reference to it in his Brighton speech), it no longer pursues this as it used to.

In London a few days ago, during the visit of the Italian prime minister, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was asked how she saw Britain's (and Europe's) role in the Middle East. "I do not expect a new Middle East initiative from Europe," she said, "but I hope there will be one from the United States not long after the election."

Sir Geoffrey is likely to confirm that line during his visit.

His approach to international problems, including the Arab-Israeli conflict, is "gradual, demanding steady creation of confidence between the parties." Such an approach puts a discount on ringing declarations of intent and on uncompromising statements of minimum objectives. But it places a premium on steady, perhaps unspectacular negotiation, often in private.

"Steady, perhaps unspectacular" are words which also describe Sir Geoffrey himself.

Those political leaders whom he meets during his brief 48-hour visit to Israel will find him ready to listen to reasoned arguments, but not to party rhetoric.

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Roy Isacowitz describes the gathering storm between the government and the Histadrut.

WHAT ABOUT THE WORKERS?



(Richard Nowitzky)

ONE IS TEMPTED to believe that the "package deal" concept is a trick cooked up by the Likud to embarrass the Labour movement. Certainly, the Likud has little to lose from sitting on the sidelines and chucking the occasional beer can, so to speak, at the Histadrut and the Labour government maul each other in the ring of public opinion.

Every once in a while, Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, a former leader of the Likud Histadrut faction, can intervene with a populist gesture (witness this week), thus endearing himself and his party to the electorate that will be choosing a new Histadrut next year.

However, Peres and his Labour Party colleagues in the cabinet currently do not need the Likud's assistance when it comes to splitting the Labour movement. They dumped Likud with alacrity, and they seem determined to humiliate the Histadrut and the package deal.

It has been clear for a long time that the "labour" in Labour Party is an anachronism — and not without justification. There are good grounds for arguing that classical socialist economics are quite out of step with the reality of Israel — and much of the rest of the world — in 1984. But to prescribe an anti-worker policy, as the new economic package would appear to be, is bad tactics, to say the least, for a government whose hold on power is tenuous.

The Histadrut leadership has no alternative but to fight. With Histadrut elections due by April next year (notwithstanding the suggestion from parliamentary Labour Party sources that they be postponed by at least a year), secretary-general Yissel Kessar, and his colleagues cannot appear to be selling out the workers while the entrepreneurs grow fat.

The Likud faction in the Histadrut has taken to calling the government "the Peres government," delicately sidestepping the involvement of Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i and Herut Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon, and has adopted the image of radical fighter for workers' rights.

In such circumstances, a Histadrut leadership that buckled under to the government's dictates would be enervating its own funeral invitations.

THE MANUFACTURERS and industrialists, the third factor in the

package deal equation, are also on the sidelines of the government-Histadrut squabble. True, they have been asked to absorb part of the price increases following the imposition of a package deal, and true that recent inflation has led to liquidity problems and made planning a nightmare. But their profits from the seven fat years of Likud rule are safely banked, and they will not be penalized for their recent outrageous price increases.

The reason, of course, is that the government is basing its long-term plans on industrial growth, especially of export items, which means that the manufacturers have to be mollified now. They are being tempted with the carrot of vast American investment in the future, while all the workers get is the big stick.

What it comes down to is a struggle between the government, led by a neo-liberal Labour Party, and the Histadrut, which, for all its drawbacks, can still justifiably claim to represent the bulk of the country's workers.

With true liberal zeal, the government insists that the workers, constituting the majority of the population, must bear the brunt of the

suffering involved in economic recovery. The Histadrut has countered that the burden must be shared equally, with those who profited most, now giving most.

THE PACKAGE DEAL process began sensibly, when both the government and the Histadrut solicited the assistance of former Bank of Israel governors Amnon Gafny and Moshe Sanbar in the drawing up of economic strategies.

The Gafny-Sanbar "shekel package deal" was at the core of both the government's economic programme, revealed on Tuesday, and the proposals approved by the Histadrut executive on Monday. Both programmes envisage a one-third/two-thirds ratio in the absorption of price increases that will be reflected in the consumer price index following the imposition of a package deal (in essence a prices and wages freeze).

For every 1 per cent of wages yielded by the workers, the employers will absorb a 2 per cent increase.

There are obvious differences between the two programmes. Where the Histadrut showed a willingness

to accept gross wage reductions, the government called for reductions in the cost-of-living increment. Where the Histadrut set its maximum concession at 5 per cent, the government is apparently demanding that workers yield one-third of the C-o-L increment for three months — which is likely to add up to a drop in real wages of some 18 per cent. But Histadrut officials are confident that, given good will on both sides, the differences could be solved in negotiations.

WHAT CANNOT be worked out, without radical rethinking on the government's part, are the social and symbolic differences between the government's economic plan and the Histadrut's proposals.

The working papers presented by Gafny and Sanbar to Kessar were reworked by the labour federation's central committee to reflect the Histadrut's social priorities. The result was that the wage-reduction issue took up just two of some 10 clauses in the Histadrut's proposals. The rest dealt with employment, social justice and an equal distribution of the economic burden. That those phrases have become limp through

over-work makes them no less pertinent and important to the leaders of organized labour.

In presenting the proposals to the Histadrut executive on Monday, Kessar dealt at length with the uglier Israel. He was brutal in his criticism of the self-employed who evade taxes, the manufacturers who kick the public when it is down by raising prices hundreds of per cent, and all those who enriched themselves from inflation by speculation or deception.

He was particularly scathing in his criticism of the previous Likud governments, that managed to transform one of the world's only truly egalitarian societies into a class society, divided by wealth.

At the same time, Kessar was unusually plain-spoken in his rejection of the worn labour clichés. There will have to be drastic budget cuts, he said, and they will inevitably lead to unemployment. Wages will have to be cut, he said, because that is the only contribution the workers can make towards economic recovery. There is no escaping the fact that the standard of living is going to drop, said Kessar.

NOT THAT the Histadrut has entirely shed its labour all-costs blinkers. Its continued calls for full employment, despite Kessar's realism, are laughable in the present circumstances, and unreconstructed revanchists still haunt the corridors, muttering about the need for increased travel and vacation allowances.

Above all, there is an essential inconsistency in the Histadrut's public position regarding the package deal.

On the one hand, Histadrut officials maintain that they are not only willing but in fact happy to negotiate a prices-and-wages freeze, while on the other they resolutely demand the maintenance of all wage and work agreements. But the wage agreements negotiated with the public and private sector employers earlier this year provided for incremental wage increases over the course of their first year in effect. The agreements simply cannot be honoured if a full freeze is to be implemented.

When confronted with this inconsistency, Histadrut officials blush, stammer and explain that the proposals are guidelines only. The actual dynamics of a freeze still have to be

worked out. In the meantime, they continue playing both fields.

Notwithstanding, the Histadrut's embarrassment, the government has failed to appreciate the very real — and justified — concerns that lie behind the social clauses in the Histadrut's proposals. You cannot expect a worker to accept a drop in his standard of living when all around him he sees people growing richer through price gouging and currency speculation. You cannot expect the worker to willingly accept a heavier tax burden when the prevalent attitude among the country's artisans is, "if you want a receipt, pay an extra 15 per cent." You cannot expect workers to increase the productivity of their labour when the easy benefits of untaxed capital transactions are so obvious.

ALL THAT, the government has apparently not realized. The government's plan as revealed by the media made no mention of improved tax collection from the self-employed, of property taxes (apart from the diluted car, plane and boat tax already announced), or of a serious crackdown on the black capital market. Implicit in the plan was the lay-off of thousands of services workers, with only lip-service paid to retraining and re-employment opportunities.

In short, no attempt was made to facilitate the task of the Histadrut by answering the very real concerns of the workers.

Possibly, all that is yet to come; the plan may have undisclosed clauses and sub-clauses that will serve the cause of social justice and equality in suffering, if suffering there must be.

For the government should be under no illusion that it can impose economic health on the country. That can only be achieved when the bulk of the population (the workers) is prepared to voluntarily accept the burden, in the knowledge that it is not being singled out.

Caught in the thrall of liberal economics, Peres has apparently decided to take on the Histadrut. The fight, as it is shaping up, will not be an edifying reflection of the labour movement. The pay-off could come after next April, when a very tenuous Labour-led government finds itself allied to a very tenuous Histadrut leadership, as the workers desert them both in droves.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

Blood and iron

By PINHAS LANDAU

The great questions of the day will not be decided by speeches and the resolutions of majorities, but by blood and iron. Otto von Bismarck, 1849.

THE GOVERNMENT of national unity has failed. The only possible qualification to this unfortunate but incontrovertible fact is the addition of "so far." But the circumstances of the economic and, increasingly, the administrative and social breakdown, are such that there is now hardly any time to recoup what has been gratuitously thrown away. There may never have been any in the first place.

The failure of this government, like its predecessors, has been that it has not governed. It has promised much and done little. The little that it has done has been either irrelevant or plain counter-productive. Above all, it has sinned by not going over the heads of its supposed partners, the Histadrut, the employers and even the Americans, and taking its case directly to its ultimate partner, the Israeli people. It was, after all, supposed to represent almost the whole country, not just disparate groups.

Because it has shown that it is less than the sum of its component parts, its support is eroding and its demise seems a matter of time. Unless, of course, it somehow gets a grip on itself and on the affairs of state.

Return, for a moment, to Bismarck and his "blood and iron." What did he mean? He was no friend of liberal democracy, of course, and the standard interpretation of "blood and iron" is the application

of military force to solve problems — in Bismarck's context, the drive to German unification.

Yet even here, the wider historical analysis shows that this aim was not achieved simply by Bismarck's political and diplomatic genius, or by the efficiency of the Prussian general staff alone.

"Blood and iron," in the Prussian context, symbolized the superiority of that country's human potential, through education and training, and its industrial might, through investment and hard work. These were the underlying components of Bismarck's achievements. He knew how to utilize them, while his liberal democratic opponents continued debating in the powerless Chamber of Deputies.

SO MUCH for 19th century Europe. In Israel today, the options are fundamentally the same. Only the outcome of the implicit struggle between the pro- and anti-democratic forces is still in doubt.

What does "blood and iron" mean in our context? Basically, they represent an updated version of the same motifs — human and economic excellence. By "blood," we mean the quantitative and qualitative improvement in the Jewish population of Israel. Quantitatively, this means aliyah, a matter which Israel's leaders are good at talking about, but which few do anything concrete about. Indeed, in the context of Israel's society and its economy today, the whole topic is rather embarrassing.

Aliyah also means so-called "internal aliyah" — that is, increasing the

pathetic rate of natural increase of the existing Israeli population. But nobody even talks about that — it is a private matter, after all, so to hell with the national implications.

As to the existing "blood" that we have, everything seems directed at lowering rather than raising its quality. Education, whether simply technical, scientific and economic-oriented, or cultural, ethical and morally-oriented, is in decline across the board. Once again, there is much talk and, where relevant, resolutions of majorities — but no blood.

"Iron," in the late 20th century, is an obsolete industrial concept. If we replace it with "silicon," however, we are back on course. Silicon, that basic component of any and every form of high-technology, will decide many of the great economic questions, both in Israel and elsewhere. But to enlarge and multiply our Israeli "Silicon Valleys," we will need capital, in addition to that human element — "blood."

But no capital — not American, not Israeli, not that of Diaspora Jewry — will be transferred to an economy that is in a state of collapse, a society in anarchy, a country in which long-term planning (where it exists) focuses on the latter half of next week, and visionaries try to look as much as a month or two ahead.

THIS GOVERNMENT has failed. To the intense disappointment of all those many people who pinned their hopes on its success. The truth is that

it failed from the outset, but we have now reached the stage where even the most resolute ostrich must admit it, however deeply in the sand his head is implanted.

It began with the appointment of 25 ministers and 16 deputy ministers. Was this the new beginning, one asked, the personal example of restraint that the leadership went on to demand from the people?

Disturbing, too, was the failure of the prime minister or somebody — anybody — to speak to the people directly, rather than via a battery of newspaper or television journalists. Never mind, we said, he's simply too busy — preparing, planning, getting the whole act together.

Day followed day, and 5744 became 5745, and still nothing. Peres went to America, and Reagan gave us the money we knew we were going to get and that Bank of Israel governor Moshe Mandelbaum had already half-admitted (on *Moked* in August) that we had borrowed against before ever receiving. Then came the shock of the would-be "moratorium."

One of the few achievements of the Likud governments was that it maintained the appearance that Israel could at least meet its ongoing debt repayments, both internally and externally. Then Shimon Peres went to Washington.

What actually happened is still not clear, but the story that has emerged rings true. When U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz suggested that

Israel defer payment of a mere few months of debt due to the U.S. government (the worst possible contingency — at least when the South Americans reschedule after going bust the arrangement covers years, not months), Peres's first reaction was along the lines of "thanks, but no thanks." He was aware of the impact this would have on the international financial community despite Shultz's assurances of firm U.S. support.

His advisers, however, persuaded him to accept the American offer — so the story goes. On his return, the news leaked and the great "achievement" became known to the public. Economists, bankers and others who appreciated the true meaning of this development hung their heads in shame.

THIS DISASTER has already slipped from the public memory, crowded out by later and even worse news. For the ultimate proof of the administrative incompetence of this government came not from an esoteric issue like foreign debt, but from something much closer to home — the very kitchen sink, in fact. The price of frozen chickens

would not be a major issue in most countries, but Third World governments have crumbled over lesser things. We are rapidly approaching that level.

The facts are too fresh to need recounting. Everyone recalls the horrific announcements of a 95 per cent hike in the price of this subsidized item, followed within hours by a reduction to a rise one-quarter the size.

The questions that need to be asked — and answered — are straightforward: Who was responsible for this colossal foul-up and who knew about the decision and when?

Whatever the answers may be, one thing is plain: a government that cannot formulate and maintain a policy on the price of chickens for 24 hours cannot be expected to do anything about more substantial matters — the economy, Lebanon, Egypt, war, peace... anything.

Even so, the chicken fiasco provides the prime minister with a real opportunity — yet again — to assert himself. He should find out who was responsible — whether civil servant or minister — and sack him.

All that is required is for Shimon Peres to take charge.

If the present government will not do it, it will lose power, and quite quickly, given the deteriorating circumstances.

In normal cases, that may not matter so much — a lively opposition is usually waiting to take the place of a failed government. But now we have no opposition. Who will form

the next government? The search for suitable candidates may well move beyond the list of the 120 current Knesset members, to extra-parliamentary solutions.

That is the ultimate danger, represented by the inadequate and steadily deteriorating performance of the government of national unity so far. At this moment, there are three paths along which the country may travel.

The first is that the existing democratic government gets down to business. That means summarizing all the advice it has received and imposing its decisions on everybody, starting with its own ministers and their empires, carrying on by way of all the leaders in the Histadrut and the employers' organizations, and only then reaching down to the rest of the population.

If that does not happen, democrats had better find an alternative system of government (maybe along presidential lines). In any event, what would be desirable is immediate, direct and massive American intervention in the management of their bankrupt subsidiary, Israel Inc., since all the efforts of current management will have come to naught.

If both Israeli and American democracy are unwilling or unable to do the job, then there should be no cause for surprise if the spectre of "the man on horseback" becomes a reality.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

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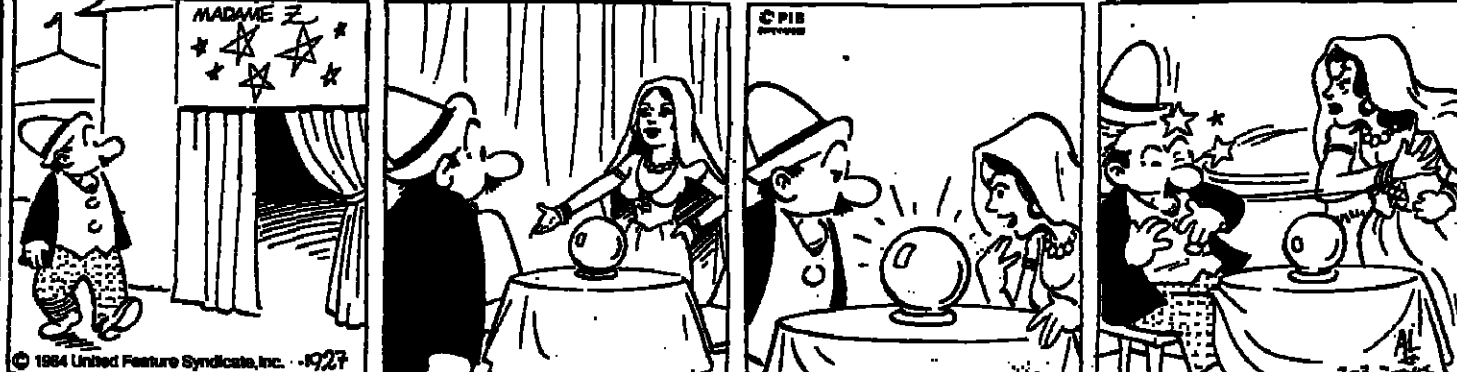
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THE BEST MOVE IS WITH

The balance of power

The Post's Yosef Goell talks to Ariel Weinstein MK

'We Liberals are trapped in profound uncertainty'



(Yosef Goell)

ONE OF THE explanations given by astute observers for the dithering of the government on the urgent issues of economic policy is that the politicians, from Prime Minister Shimon Peres down, are looking at the problem primarily through political rather than economic spectacles.

Seen thus, two conclusions emerge. One is that, contrary to the conventional wisdom frequently expressed during the seven weeks of coalition-talk wrangling, a broad national unity government is no guarantee of a coalescing of the country's major political forces behind a painful inflation-fighting policy.

Prime Minister Peres said as much in his opening address to the Knesset this week. The theory was that Labour and the Likud, serving in one government, would provide massive support for such a politically difficult policy, and would jointly vitiate outside opposition to it in those sections of the population that would be most hurt by it.

The evidence of the first five weeks of the unity government's tenure indicates the opposite: that the paralysing self-cancelling aspects of a government of such disparate and competing elements far outweigh the supposed advantages.

Given this conclusion, the second one follows: that the Labour-Likud partnership will not last for long, and will in all likelihood collapse under the pressures generated by a wounded public during the first stages of the implementation of a belt-tightening policy.

The most common scenario raised at this point in the tea-leaf reading is the likelihood of a splitting away from the Likud of most of the Liberals, headed by Finance Minister Yitzhak Moda'i and the establishment of a Labour-led coalition, with the participation of the Liberals, the National Religious Party and possibly Mapam and Citizens Rights.

Speculation over the prospects of such a scenario coming about were heightened last week, when Jewish Agency chairman and Liberal leader Arye Dulin came out openly on Israeli television in favour of such a split.

This was followed a day later by the statement of Liberal Minister of Justice Moshe Nissim that Dulin was clearly speaking only for himself, and at most for two or three frustrated Liberal MKs. Nissim is usually identified as the Liberal leader most closely aligned with Herut in the Likud.

THE HERUT-LIBERAL partnership dates back to 1965, when the Gahal agreement established a joint Knesset faction and election list. Under the agreement, each party was guaranteed a fixed proportion of the joint list.

It took 12 years, several electoral defeats, the enlargement of the Gahal partnership into the larger Likud framework and the delayed effects of the trauma of the Yom Kippur War to finally oust the Labour Alignment from the position it had

held for 29 years as Israel's ruling party.

The Herut-Liberal engagement never did lead to a full marriage, although this was the constantly-expressed hope of the leaders' on both sides. The social, ideological and personal differences between the two were too strong to permit such a consummation.

Talk among some Liberals of splitting away from the Likud began in the wake of Menachem Begin's resignation of the premiership last year. It was felt that Begin was the only guarantor of the Liberals' part in the Likud partnership in the face of a Herut which was becoming ever more populist and increasingly persuaded of the Liberals' worthlessness as an electoral factor.

Relations between the two parties were deteriorating when both were caught by surprise at the decision to hold early elections. In the event, demands in the Herut Central Committee to abrogate the 19-year-old Gahal agreement and cut the Liberals down to size in the Likud list for the Eleventh Knesset resulted in a compromise. This, together with the decline of the Likud in the elections added the Liberal contingent from 18 to 13.

IN THE TENTH Knesset, the "gang of four" Liberals - Yitzhak Berman, Menahem Savidor, Dror Zeigerman and Dan Tichon - were in the forefront of a drive to split away from the Likud. In the internal sorting-out that preceded the construction of the list for the new elections, Berman dropped out of the running voluntarily; but Knesset Speaker Savidor and Zeigerman were punished: they were excluded from the list.

The possibility of being decimated even further by their hostile majority partner is very definitely a major Liberal trauma today.

The Liberals being a party of personal cliques and of shifting coal-

itions among and against a large number of clique heads, it is extremely difficult to get a handle on who is for and who against the idea of splitting away from the Likud.

Dulin and Nissim have declared themselves. Others, who asked to remain unidentified, are generally agreed that party chairman Yitzhak Moda'i, and MKs Pinhas Goldstein and Pessah Grupper, are the hard core of those favouring an eventual split. Everything else is fluid.

OUTSIDE observers usually tend to characterize the positions of various Liberal leaders as being wholly and solely opportunistic. But a conversation with second-term Liberal MK Ariel Weinstein served to recall nearly forgotten ideological underpinnings to some Liberal attitudes.

"There are still basically only two weltanschauungen in Israeli politics: that of Labour, with its bureaucratic socialist attitude to a planned economy and an approach to the individual citizen based on its economic and organizational power; and the free-enterprise approach exemplified by the Likud."

"It's true that Labour's socialism has been somewhat watered down, and that Herut has become more populist in character. But fundamentally, the old division in basic attitudes persists."

"Those of us who are still intensely motivated by the tried and true Liberal ideas, like myself and many of my colleagues, know that splitting the Likud will bring back the domination of the old Mapai aspects of the Labour Party."

"We have real problems in the Likud. To all intents and purposes, the old Gahal agreement is dead, and we Liberals are trapped in profound uncertainty."

"It is reasonable to argue that our 19-year-old engagement cannot continue for long and must lead either to marriage or to divorce. That's why I

personally am grateful to Dulin for seeking to bring matters to a head. I disagree with him on the desirable outcome, but I agree that we have to foment an internal crisis in the Likud, so that Herut is compelled to pay attention to us."

Weinstein, who is a member of the Knesset Finance Committee, believes that when it comes to the crunch, a majority of the Liberal Knesset faction and central committee will come down on the side of marriage, of consolidating the Likud into a single party. He thinks there is a good chance of this coming about if it is done gradually, as long as the process is started now.

What should be done, he says, is to maintain the separate executives but set up a joint central committee in which the activists of both parties will get to know each other personally in the course of monthly meetings.

"For the next elections we should set up a unitary Knesset list, but with a one-time guarantee against the threat of any constituent group being wiped out entirely by a loaded majority."

All of this coming about depends, adds Weinstein, on Herut's willingness to meet the Liberals halfway. And discussions have to start now, not be postponed until the eve of the next elections.

DOES THE internal Herut struggle for the succession to Begin's leadership affect the prospects of continued partnership with the Liberals?

"I believe that the five or six contenders for the leadership of the Likud in Herut all agree that the Likud will not be able to make it back into power without the Liberals. No one can make a persuasive argument as to how much we are worth electorally. But what is clear to all is that four or five Knesset seats will spell the difference between a Likud or a Labour government the next time around. And the Liberals have it in their power to contribute, or to deny, at least that number to the Likud."

The contending Herut leaders know that none of them has a chance of becoming prime minister without the support of the Liberals. In addition, I believe that the ideological affinity that we share should prove crucial in persuading the Herut leadership of the importance of restoring the basis of the partnership with us.

"If I'm wrong, then we have a real problem. But it's important to face the issue now," Weinstein concludes.

The Liberals, facing an uncertain future, may be in a rush to have it out among themselves and with their Herut partners. But Herut, involved as it is with its internal leadership struggle, is interested in postponing such a showdown as long as possible. These time-consuming interests and in the approaches and the active wooing of the Liberals, and especially of Finance Minister Moda'i, by Prime Minister Peres, will provide an important undercurrent in the politics of the dramatic months to come.

The American administration is consequently able to pursue without restraint its cooperation with Cairo in planning the next phase of the campaign for the reduction of Israel - dubbed the "peace process" by Washington. There apparently it is innocently so regarded.

The American vehicle for that phase is the Reagan Plan whose full consummation would bring Israel back to the 1949 Armistice Lines, give a few metres take a few metres. The plan is not dead. It is in recess. It is after all merely the 1982 edition of established U.S. policy as thought up in the State Department and previously flourished as the Rogers Plan in 1969.

Its immediate terms include a "real freeze" of the "settlements" in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, and the cancellation of Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem (which would be subject to negotiation). Its ultimate objective is a total Israeli withdrawal "in return" for "total peace" and it makes the derisory proposal that a partial withdrawal by Israel will win her the same partial measure of peace. (Does this mean perhaps shooting "only on weekdays 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.?")

The Likud government wisely rejected the plan out of hand - just as the Labour-led government rejected the Rogers Plan in 1969; and that rejection stands, unless and until it is amended. Labour leaders, unctuously declaring that the plan had some "good points," have kept hope alive in Washington that Israel might be seduced into negotiations on its basis. This hope has been reflected in repeated statements by American spokesmen suggesting that the only obstacle to opening negotiations on the plan is Hussein's failure to cooperate, implying that Israel will be "manageable." Most recently they were encouraged in that belief by the reported statement of Mr. Abba Eban that they need not take the Israeli government's rejection of the plan "too seriously."

If, as is highly possible, the U.S. President after the election tries to persuade the Prime Minister to bring about acceptance of the Reagan Plan, he should be told in all politeness that this government has no mandate from the people for such reconsideration, that its efforts are now concentrated on pulling the country out of its economic bog; and that only when that has been achieved can the dissolution of the national unity government be envisaged. Then - it will be for the Israeli electorate to decide on its foreign policy, and to whose hands to entrust its execution.

Truth from Egypt

By SHMUEL KATZ

TWO WEEKS AGO Osama Al-Baz, senior adviser to the President of Egypt, and since Sadat's day a central figure in the formulation of Egyptian foreign policy, asserted in a speech in Amman that Egypt's obligations to the other Arab states took precedence over its obligations to Israel under the peace treaty. Under the Arabs' mutual security pacts Egypt would have to obey the call to go to the aid of any Arab state going to war with Israel.

Al-Baz's assertion means that Egypt's treaty with Israel will bind her to peace only until the Arab states decide that the time has come to resume the shooting war with Israel.

Those people in Israel who were disturbed at the notion that Egypt remained part of the Arab "war-circus," and who reproached Al-Baz as undermining the peace treaty, do him and Egypt an injustice. It is the peace treaty itself that contains legitimization for nullifying what is usually the central feature of a peace treaty: the promise to maintain peace. The Egyptians never intended to make that promise.

Two months after the signing of the Camp David accords in September 1978 it was officially announced that a peace treaty had been negotiated between Israel and Egypt, and it now only awaited signature. On 28 November Israeli newspapers published the full text. Article VI.5 read:

"Subject to Article 103 of the United Nations Charter, in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Parties under the present treaty and any of their other obligations, the obligations under this treaty will be binding and implemented."

But no signing took place. A treaty was signed only four months later, on 26 March 1979. Signature was delayed for the reason that President Sadat refused to agree to Article VI.5. He insisted that it must be clear in the treaty that Egypt's various obligations to the other Arab states remained valid in all circumstances and would not be nullified by the treaty with Israel; that Egypt in the future would be as free to go to war with Israel after the treaty was signed as she had been in the past.

Many statements to this effect were made at the time by Sadat and his subordinates. One of them, Minister of State Dr. Butrus Ghali, put in a nutshell the whole of Egyptian thinking on the subject of Israel. Asked (on 6 December 1978) what set of circumstances would induce Egypt to go to the aid

of an Arab state "attacked by Israel," he replied "Egypt's entry into the war of 1948."

In 1948 Egypt followed the lead of the other Arab states in their onslaught on newly-born Israel designed explicitly to destroy it, population and all. (That war was, in Arab doctrine, an "attack by Israel" because Zionism as such is, in Arab doctrine, an act of aggression.)

When Sadat's demand became known, Prime Minister Begin quite rationally declared that the amendment demanded by Sadat was of course unacceptable; indeed that there could be no negotiations over the "heart" of the treaty. He certainly would not sign a "sham document" that would become "a treaty for war."

But, at the end of March 1979, pressed by President Carter, Begin and his government performed the usual somersault. An "interpretive" Article was added, in the "Agreed Minutes" to Article VI.5. A notable piece of gobbledegook, it was adequate for Sadat's purpose. It reads:

"It is agreed by the Parties that there is no assertion that the Treaty prevails over other Treaties or agreements or that other Treaties or agreements prevail over this Treaty. The foregoing is not to be construed as contravening the provisions of Article VI.5 of the Treaty..."

Astonishingly, the sequence of these dramatic events that surrounded the signing of the peace treaty, and their far-reaching significance, were ignored completely in the angry official reactions and in the media commentaries that followed Al-Baz's statement of 8 October. For example, the report in *The Jerusalem Post* (10 October) quotes Article VI.5 as though it were valid - and omits any mention of the "interpretive" addition in the "Agreed Minutes," which renders Article VI.5 meaningless.

The hoax of the Peace Treaty might have been hidden from sight,

or at least mitigated, if, over the years, Egypt had adhered to the treaty. In fact she has ignored or failed to implement or contravened almost all its provisions. Trade, tourism (from Egypt) and cultural relations are all but prohibited by Cairo. In flagrant breach of the treaty, propaganda against Israel (and, at times, against the Jewish people) goes on unabated. Israel continues to be depicted in the media with a viciousness and obscenity reminiscent of the propaganda excesses of the German Nazis. Al-Baz's insult in Amman was quite mild in comparison.

To African nations Egypt has time and again addressed exhortations not to resume diplomatic relations with Israel. At the U.N. she has supported resolutions which would nullify the Camp David agreement signed by Sadat in favour of even harsher demands on Israel. In official declarations of her own she has stated detailed demands on Israel identical with the "Faz Plan" which spells Israel's destruction by stages.

Not least - in maps of the area published by Egypt since 1979 Israel already does not exist.

That Egypt has nonetheless maintained its reputation in the U.S. - and elsewhere - as a moderate peace-loving Arab state is in no small measure due to the myopic failure of the Israeli government to expose her abiding long-range design (in common with the other Arab states) for Israel. The Likud government pretended throughout, and has now carried its pretence into the national unity government, that the peace treaty is in tolerably good shape - except for the absence of Cairo's ambassador from Tel Aviv. Its occasional protests on other breaches have been muted and almost casual. No less effective for Egyptian interests has been the amiable pretence of Labour spokesmen that, somehow, the blame for Cairo's breaches of the treaty must be laid at the door - of the Likud.

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Haifa	4:29	5:31
Beerseba	4:36	5:33
Elitz	4:37	5:35
Tora Portions: Noah		

JERUSALEM

YESHURUN CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE. Friday Mincha 4.45. Shabbat Shahrut 8. Mincha 12.45. 4.20. Maariv 5.30. Hazan: ASHER HEINOVITZ.

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WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES. Conservative. 4 Agon. Friday Mincha 4.40. Shabbat 8.30. Dvar Torah Rabbi Dr. Louis Katzoff. Hazan: Dov Kaplan.

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Tel Aviv: Yehuda Hamasabi, 42 Yehuda Hamasabi, 455198. Sebel Dov, Technit Lamed, 428510. Nezar Kupat Holim Clini, 31 Brodetski, 91123.

Haifa: Mazor, 97 Hameginim, 524113.

Saturday, October 27, 1984
Jerusalem: (day) Kupat Holim Clini, Romema, 523191. Balm, Salah Eddin, 27215. Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108. Dar Aldawa, Herod's Gate, 220208. (evening) Bayit Vagan, 31 Brodetski, 91123.

Tel Aviv: (day) Adasoroff, 76 Arlosoroff, 220746. Sebel Dov, Technit Lamed, 428510. (evening) Adasoroff, 76 Arlosoroff, 220746. Superpharm, 40 Elstina, Ramat Aviv. Nezar Kupat Holim, 31 Brodetski, 91123. Hatzor 36333. Holon 805133.

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Puntheon

BY RICHARD SILVESTRI / Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

1 Bit of smoke	18	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43
2 Obscure	19	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	
3 Crossword	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	
4 Eucharistic	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43		
5 plate	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43			
6 Meager	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43				
7 Sky blue	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43					
8 Area east of the Urals	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43						
9 Without companions	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43							
10 Prong	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35																

THE JERUSALEM POST

MA'ARIV HA'ARETZ

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in cooperation with MA'ARIV HA'ARETZ • HA'IR • KOL HA'IR
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1984, radio, 10,000km. Tel. 03-72832.

FIAT
Panda, end 1982, excellent condition, year's test, 03-76542.
124, 1974 model, 112,000km., list price, 03-23848.

131 1600 station, automatic, good condition, 03-451475.

Fiat 1300, 15,000km., 10,000, 03-82141, 03-31643.
127-4, 80, test, 93,001.

1980, 131L, small, white, economical, 57,000, second owner, 03-922957.
127, 1974, rare, excellent condition, 03-41228.

FORD
Fiesta 1.3, 27,000, one owner, radio-tape, 03-72749, from 15,000.
Ford Fairmont 1979, power steering, air conditioner, 30,089, 24,127.

Transit, 1981, Givat Brenner garage, 03-452113.
Corolla 70, automatic, stereo, over-belt, excellent alarm, 03-450021.

Fiesta 111, 1984, 45,000km., additions, 03-44548.
Eren 1300, 1982, one owner, dual purpose, excellent, 03-29433.

Escort, 1974, 1300, mechanically and externally excellent, 03-419212.
Fiesta, 9,000km., brand new, 478513.
Ford Taurus XL 1600, 1973, automatic, like Corina in shop, 03-24824.
Fairmont, 1978, metallic, 6 cylinders, work hours, 03-281191.

LANCIA
Prisma 1300, end 1983, metallic + additions, like new, 18,000km., 03-55573.
Prisma, 1984, one owner, 13,000km., well kept, like new, 03-58878.

Delta 1300, 1983, metallic, gorgeous, like new, 03-417314, 03-834033.
Lancia 1300-5 Delta, 1983, 34,000km., 511,000, 03-440516; 03-346233.
1982, Trevi 1600, 32,000km., from diplomat, 03-26147, 03-76384.

Delta 1300, 1982, one owner, air conditioner, maintained as new, 03-321837.

LORRIES
Mac, double, Cummings engine, 350cc., 767 model, 1980, 03-55611.
MERCEDES
300 petrol, November 1982, like new + additions, 29,000km., for serious, due to departure, 03-923545.

308S, 1974, all additions, excellent, 03-232011, 03-543981.
For serious, due to departure, November 82, like new, power steering + additions, 29,000km., 03-923545.

320, 1972, air conditioner, power steering, automatic, excellent, 9,000, 25876, 25005.
408SLC Sport Coupe, 1974, new engine, 03-32351.

408SLC, 1974, all extras, 03-461948, 03-419212.
1983, 320, private, automatic, metallic, Work hours, 03-284330.

N.S.U.
Ford 1614, 1975, 03-284644, 03-224002, not Shabat.
OPEL
Ascona 1600, automatic, 1980, like new, 31,600km., 32,262, 446510.

Opel Ascona, 1982, 1300 S, automatic, \$14,500, 03-480938.
Ascona, 1983, like new, 39,000km., automatic test, from rental, 03-922125, not Shabat.

Ascona 83, 1300S, Luxus, 14,000, metallic, 03-73233.
Ascona 83, Luxus, 26,000km., extras, like new, 15,000, 03-223609.

Kadet 1300, 5 doors, one owner, stereo, 03-80340.
Ascona 1300S, 1982, automatic, 22,800km., 2nd owner, 14,000, 03-32364, from 14,000.

Volvo, 1971, 145 model, after overhaul, 03-22223.
PEUGEOT
305 SR 1500, 1982, air conditioning, 29,931, work hours, from Sunday.

304, 2000, 1982, automatic, excellent, must sell 03-93414.
305GL, 1982, automatic, air conditioner, 42,000, from disabled, 03-47003.

Volvo 240, 1983, air conditioner, power steering, Sony stereo, rare, 70,000km., 03-63014; 03-82888, work.
244 G.L., 1982, automatic, air conditioner, radio, from disabled, 42,000km., 945511.

244 G.L., 82, 32,000km., power steering, air conditioner, year test, 03-2970.
245 Station, manual, 1975, 2nd owner, air conditioner, extra, 03-955468.

D.L., 1982, one owner, power steering, radio-tape, automatic, 03-70829.
BMW 600 + side-suitcases, 75,000km., excellent condition, 03-44921.

Israel Suzuki Motorbikes, amazing selection of Touring, Trail, Off-Road models and more, from 50-100cc., special models for 16-year old cyclists. Importers: Avia Motorbikes company Ltd., 6 Rehov Hasadim, Tel Aviv, Tel. 808977, or at Elia Vespas agents.

Puch, 1981, 7,000km., one owner, excellent, 03-356989.
Sprint 1969, mechanically excellent, first owner, 03-786342.

B.M.W. 600, 1956, after overhaul, excellent condition, 03-84948.
BMW R90S, 1974, excellent condition, 03-44094.

Derbi Super 84, superior, test, due to my service, 03-81523.
Honda 750, V4 Sabre for sale/exchange for Enduro, 03-923135.

Java 350, 82, 03-671172.
Kagiva 250, Enduro, 1982, excellent condition, 03-52753; 03-52042.

For commensal, Derby, 1984, Super, 800cc., beautiful, 03-58154.
Motoi Bros. 1983, well-kept, fast, carburetor 19, Tel. 03-860475.

Peugeot 304 station, overhaul, for car commuters, special terms, 72,236, weekdays.
Peugeot 404, automatic, 1975, excellent, one owner, 03-525834.

Prisma 1300, blue, 1984, guaranteed, radio-tape, 41,748.
Renault 35, 1981, 40,000, one owner, excellent, 71,189.

Renault 4, 1977, second owner, 03-721118; home: 03-525688.
Seat Ronda, 1983, 18,500, one owner, 03-48677; work: 03-59679.

Suzuki 1300, 1981, excellent condition, 70,000km., 03-52655; 03-246317.
Suzuki 1300, 1983, 36,000km., one owner, excellent, 03-819980.

Suzuki 1300, 1983, white, one owner, well kept, 29,5 Habad, 03-288692.
Suzuki 1400, 1979, 14,000km., 03-223694, weekdays.

Suzuki station 1400, 1977, 22,121, extra, 329.
Volkswagen Passat 174, 1500, station, 128,000, 03-931419, not Shabat.

Volkswagen Transporter, 1982, original windows and benches, 03-724108, weekdays; 03-713611.

Volvo 82 GLE, automatic, air conditioner, automatic windows, power steering, 03-24934.
Volvo station, 1976, manual, third owner, 8700, 03-42597, weekdays.

Autobianchi Elegante 1987, 47,000km., radio, 03-241921, 03-535336.
BMW 318, 1983, metallic, one owner, 25,000km., 42,462, 43,1891.

Citroen GS 79 Pallas, excellent condition, 41,620.
Ford Fiesta, 1978, second owner, 75,000, excellent condition, 03-535336, 03-220680.

Ford Fiesta, 1984, 15,000, 03-021177, 03-669594; Saturday, 03-712134.
Ford Fiesta, 1984, 15,000, 03-021177, 03-669594; Saturday, 03-712134.

Kadet, 1978, 78,000km., rare condition, 03-639930, weekdays.
Lancia 1600 JPE, 1977, year test, over-belt, 63,743.

Subaru, 1972, mechanically good, 03-74720.
Subaru, 1983, automatic, 1300, 9,400km., new, 13,000, 941201.

Subaru, 1983, metallic silver, 15,000km., extra, 03-842851.
1300, 1984, extra, 40,000km., white, \$14,000, 03-960892.

1600, 1979, excellent automatic, air conditioner, 80,7134.
Hatchback, 1983, 1300, 3 doors, 7,800km., 03-395293.

Subaru, 1972, mechanically good, 03-74720.
Subaru, 1983, automatic, 1300, 9,400km., new, 13,000, 941201.

Subaru, 1983, metallic silver, 15,000km., extra, 03-842851.
1300, 1984, extra, 40,000km., white, \$14,000, 03-960892.

1600, 1979, excellent automatic, air conditioner, 80,7134.
Hatchback, 1983, 1300, 3 doors, 7,800km., 03-395293.

Subaru, 1972, mechanically good, 03-74720.
Subaru, 1983, automatic, 1300, 9,400km., new, 13,000, 941201.

Subaru, 1983, metallic silver, 15,000km., extra, 03-842851.
1300, 1984, extra, 40,000km., white, \$14,000, 03-960892.

Lancia Turbo 1600, 1982, from Army disabled, well kept, excellent, 03-41494.
Peugeot 305, 1981, superior condition, 47,000km., 03-91490, weekdays.

Renault 18, automatic, 1982, from disabled, 03-42004, not Shabat.
Renault 4, 1974, test, new, excellent clutch, list price, 03-33383.

Renault 5TL, 1982, 40,000, one owner, 93,171, weekdays.
Renault 5TL, 1983, 16,000, one owner, 93,171, weekdays.

Seat Ronda L 84, 9 months, 53,000km., 03-673995.
Subaru 1300, 1982, one owner, well kept, 03-524452.

Subaru 1300, 1983, 37,000km., 24831, home, 63260.
Volkswagen Brasilia, 1973, good condition, 03-251093, 03-521846.

Volvo 76, 70,000km., excellent condition, 2nd owner, 81,076, home, 247330, 242510, office, not Shabat.

Volvo DL, 1981, second owner, year's test, 03-426402.
Ford Escort 1300-74, year test, 69,063; 25,191, home.

Ford Fiesta 1100, 84-5, like new, 2000, 03-224074, work.
Renault 4, 1977, 85,000km., year test, 14,737.

Renault 9 T.C., 83, 25,000km., 03-91340, weekdays.
Subaru 1400, 1978, 40,000km., mechanically excellent, 03-244333, 03-29745.

Subaru 1300, 1983, 37,000km., 24831, home, 63260.
Subaru 1300, Sept. 82, one owner, excellent condition, 03-718655.

Autobianchi Junior, 1983, one owner, additions, tape, well kept, 03-246553.
B.M.W. 316, 1984, like new, 5,000km., extra, 38,000, 81,0526, not Shabat.

Dodge Aspen, 1977, 3rd owner, list price, 03-53178.
Fiat 131, from disabled, 1982, automatic, 33,000km., well kept, 03-712730.

Must sell! Suzuki station, 1983, spare parts, 03-931607, 03-241222-286.
MORRIS, 1981, 31,000km., 31,000km., 03-91340, weekdays.

Peugeot 305, 1981, 42,000km., excellent, 10,500, 03-911617, 85,794.
Peugeot 404, 1974, year test, after overhaul, 66,813, weekdays.

Peugeot 1-7.75, year test, good mechanically, 03-243523, afternoons.
Peugeot van 504, 1982, excellent condition, 51,000, 03-431983.

Renault 12, station, 1975, 107,000km., 52,998, not Shabat.
Subaru 1300, automatic, steel metal, 25,000, like new, 03-523231.

Subaru 1300, 1972, new motor, 41,832.
Subaru 1600, automatic, 1979, second owner, 100,000, Tel. 03-240652, 03-877181.

Subaru station, 1979, one owner, 74,000km., 635,640.
Subaru, 1982-83, 40,000km., one owner, 11,000, 71,027, 52,065.

Volvo 240 GLE, 1983, 36,000, 40,000, 03-661410.
1983 Panda, 3000, one owner, superb, new, excellent, 03-233530.

400 CL, 1982, one owner, air conditioner, radio-tape, 140,000km., 11,500, 03-633496.
Audi 80, 1979, 62,000km., test, one owner, 03-413992.

Autobianchi Junior, 83, one owner, additions, well kept, 03-810804.
BMW 600, 1971, good condition, 03-818311; work: 03-639497.

BMW 315, 1982, one owner, 30,000km., list price, 71,880, 72,240.
Bargain, BMW 1983, metallic, one owner, 25,000km., 42,462, 43,1891.

Carmel 1979, excellent mechanically, bargain, 2,500, 03-877261, 03-817728.
Carmel 73, good condition, 9 month test, list price, 03-724631.

Citroen GS Pallas, 1978, semi-automatic, well kept, 03-723575.
Cortina 1600, 82, list price, Tel. 542432, work: 542872.

Daiatsu Charman 1300, 1983, one owner, 15,000km., 03-817484.
Subaru 1300, 1979, automatic, 50,000, 52,894; 54,278.

First come first served, Alfa Romeo, 1974, good condition, 03-82573.
Ford Sierra 84, like new, DL, automatic, 22,114, not Shabat.

Mercedes 220, private, like new, new engine, new, previously sold, 03-53520, weekdays.
Opel Kadett, 1984, automatic, \$14,500, 03-672551, not Shabat.

Passport to passport, Fiat 133, 1979, excellent, reasonable, 41,686.
Peugeot 104, 1979, Mini 1000, 1977, 03-76347, 03-24708.

Peugeot 304 station, overhaul, for car commuters, special terms, 72,236, weekdays.
Peugeot 404, automatic, 1975, excellent, one owner, 03-525834.

Prisma 1300, blue, 1984, guaranteed, radio-tape, 41,748.
Renault 35, 1981, 40,000, one owner, excellent, 71,189.

Renault 4, 1977, second owner, 03-721118; home: 03-525688.
Seat Ronda, 1983, 18,500, one owner, 03-48677; work: 03-59679.

Suzuki 1300, 1981, excellent condition, 70,000km., 03-52655; 03-246317.
Suzuki 1300, 1983, 36,000km., one owner, excellent, 03-819980.

Suzuki 1300, 1983, white, one owner, well kept, 29,5 Habad, 03-288692.
Suzuki 1400, 1979, 14,000km., 03-223694, weekdays.

Suzuki station 1400, 1977,

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Rimon, 4-room partly furnished, phone, long term. 340133.
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Ramat Gan, 3 fully furnished rooms, phone. 417294, 310165.
Ramat Gan, 3 rooms, 31/2, new, 741714, not Shabbat.
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Givatayim, 21/4, 2nd floor, 3rd floor, phone. 02-314834, 02-723766.
Ramat Gan, 2 partially furnished, Hadar, 02-734537, not Shabbat.
Ramat Gan, Shimon, Hillside Villa, luxurious, 8, phone, marble, furnished. Anglo-Saxon, 02-738121.
Ramat Gan, 2 rooms, 21/4, partially furnished, phone. 991452, 704444.
Ramat Gan, 4 + phone, lifts, hot water, heating. 492361.
Bnei Brak, for religious, new, 3, 02-6574, 02-723766.
Givatayim, 2-3 + phone, 1st floor. 02-6574, 02-723766.
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Ramat Gan, 3 + phone, parking. 02-727352, not Shabbat.
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Ramat Gan, 11/2, ground floor, charming, phone, furnished. 200, 02-243949.
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Kfar Sava, centre, 4, 2nd floor, 1175, 02-278288, weekdays.
Ramatana, Hagdud, Haivri, 4 + 1/2, cupboards, well arranged, Corral, 02-289843, 02-292616.
Ramat Hasharon, 4, phone, immediate. 02-745811, 02-613398.
Herzliya, 31/2, roof + room, parking, double convenience. 02-247697.
Herzliya, 31/2, spacious, 3rd floor, phone, parking, Harav Kook, 02-94556.
Herzliya, 4, 3rd floor, phone, solar boiler, parking, 270, from end of November. 02-87185.
Herzliya, Yehuda Halevi, 4, new, long term, Corral, 02-289843, 02-292616.
Herzliya, central, quiet, 4 + lift, 5200, 02-544723, 02-243918.
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Ramatana, 4 + workroom, diene, phone, immediate! 02-760125.
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By WOLF BLITZER / Post Washington Correspondent

* Former secretary of state Henry Kissinger has cautioned against hav-

There are basically two conflicting U.S. assessments on Syrian intentions. One school of thought is convinced that Syrian President Hafez Assad is by no means unhappy over Israel's continued presence in South

Syria's Soviet patron, moreover, also has an interest in removing the Israeli military from those early-warning stations along the Bekaa front. Nathan A. Pelcovits, a former State Department official who is

Soviet military planners recognize that Israel would decisively win any such contest, thereby further embarrassing the state of the art in Soviet

There is also a growing conviction in Washington - as in Jerusalem - that any such Israeli withdrawal will require a dramatically expanded role by the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (Unifil). Despite Israel's understandable misgivings over Unifil, there is now a general recognition

Assad in which the Syrian leader recalled with nostalgia the 1974 disengagement agreement on the Golan Heights sponsored by Henry Kissinger, hinting he would be open to U.S. proposals for a parallel arrangement on the Bekaa line.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post Washington correspondent.

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By AVRAHAM RABINOVICH / Jerusalem Post Reporter

This cultural flowering of Islam,

There are, in fact, few scholars in the Arab world sharing his interest in medieval Arab dialects, says Blau. He expresses regret at having had virtually no contact at all with Arab

Israel Prize winner Prof. Yehoshua Blau in his Jerusalem library

(Karen Benzian)

The Arab masses have become increasingly familiar with literary Arabic in recent decades because of the influence of radio and television.

university as a member of the faculty. He has been president of the prestigious Hebrew Language Academy since 1981. His wife is a teacher, his son is a nuclear physicist

"The Jews in the medieval Islamic world," he says, "were both very Jewish and living at the highest

By HYAM CORNEY / Post London Correspondent

establishment of a pedagogical resource centre at the new Braude School to be built at Carmiel. When completed about three years' hence, the school will open with some 300

terested in those recommendations to be implemented at the new Or school in that development town. Katzir also recommended that Or place more emphasis on biotechnol-

TORA TODAY / Pinhas H. Peli

opened. There is a smile again on the

will mark the beginning of the Jewish

are looked upon as the basic univer-

wish to convert and accept the full

and literature at Ben-Gurion University.

And the Lord saw how man's wickedness had increased since my childhood.

the one of common people's con-

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ZVI KURZWEIL'S presentation and analysis of some of my views on Judaism and Jewishness, in his thoughtful article ("A Fiery Iconoclast," *The Jerusalem Post*, October 10), caused me no little embarrassment. I am deeply affected, even moved, by the expressions of friendliness and sympathy and the high appreciation he accords to me. But I am troubled by some misunderstandings - sometimes grave misunderstandings - I detect in his conception and exposition of my views.

I cannot attribute these misunderstandings, and the resulting errors of interpretation, to any vagueness or obscurity of my statements; Kurzweil himself characterizes these as "extremely lucid, free from the pedanteries and obfuscations of professional philosophers" and as "simple and coherent." Nevertheless, in some decisive points his explanation and presentations are not only erroneous - they even contradict directly what I say explicitly.

So I must resign myself to admitting the truth of Karl Popper's saying: "Always remember that it is impossible to speak in such a way that you cannot be misunderstood; there will always be some who misunderstand you."

I am appalled at reading: "the transformation of the secular state into a Medinat Hatora, which is Leibowitz's ultimate ideal..." or: "Leibowitz has ceased, in his later writings, to advocate the incorporation of Halacha into the law of the State of Israel..." - thus implying that I had advocated it previously.

As a matter of fact, a central point of all my writings on the theme of state and religion is that the concept of "Medinat Hatora" or "Medinat Hahalacha" is devoid of meaning,

Understanding and misapprehension

By YESHAIAHU LEIBOWITZ / Special to The Jerusalem Post

like a "quadrilateral triangle." It is the essence of the state, of every state, in the past, in the present and in the foreseeable future, to be a secular institution, an institution that is necessary and therefore legitimate (also from the religious point of view), but without any religious meaning and significance. A state is not established and maintained *l'shem shamaim*, but to perform functions deriving from the intention to provide for human needs and to satisfy human interests, both of the individual and the community. The state has neither the capability nor the authority to realize religious values or anything that has a religious meaning.

THE WORSHIP and service of God (*Avodat Hashem*) pertains to the human individual (or to an aggregate of persons committed to this task), and only man or woman - but not the impersonal apparatus of the state - can perform it.

Statehood is not a religious category, nor is a political system (as distinct from a code of law) a religious programme. The function of the apparatus of power and rule (which is the state) is to secure the safety and the welfare of the human beings, of the people. This apparatus has authority over these needs and interests and capabilities only in relation to them, but it has no authority over values or the capability to realize them - neither moral or ethical values, or values of knowledge (science) or of the arts - and, least of

all, religious values and demands.

Religion demands from the state that it should create and maintain a structure of conditions for human existence, in the framework of which men (or the people as an entity) can endeavour to fulfil the task of *Avodat Hashem*. The state apparatus is neither capable nor authorized to contribute anything to the service of God. Religion and the demands it makes of men or people always confront (though not necessarily always reject) the values and interests of the political power, and they can never identify with the state.

If a people in *corpo* accepts the demands of religion (in the case of Judaism - "the yoke of Torah and mitzvot") it will establish in its state a system of government that does not contradict these demands; but even in this ideal case, religion and state will remain separate.

The true meaning of the term "religious state" is a political framework for men's striving for the realization of the demands made on them by religion - an endless struggle. Such was the case every time the Jewish people had a state of their own: in the biblical period - the prophets in confrontation with the kings, even with the "virtuous" ones; in the post-biblical period - the *Hasidim* in confrontation with the *Hasidim* kings, although the latter were High Priests.

IT IS of the essence of authentic religion to maintain an attitude of criticism toward the *rashut* - the power apparatus of statehood. This criticism is positive or negative, depending on the nature of the regime; but never can religion allow itself to be "incorporated" in the state because the latter, by virtue of its intrinsic nature and the nature of its functions, will always be secular, even if all members of the government are religious.

The political meaning and significance of religion - in terms of the people and the state - is to be in perennial opposition to the secular power of the state. If, in the contemporary State of Israel, the "official" Judaism - the *rabbanut mita'am* (the state-nominated and state-maintained rabbinat), the religious parties, etc. - accommodates itself within the framework of the *rashut* and strives to maintain itself and its institutions by the means and the grace of the secular state, this is a symptom of the degeneration of religion and of a process of self-liquidation.

There is no higher degree of profanation of religion (*hilul Hashem*) and of making the Torah contemptible (*Bision Hatora*) than a Jewish religion that voluntarily bases its existence on a dependence on the benevolence of atheists and expects a "religious legislation" from a gov-

ernment and a parliament of profaners of the Shabbat and of non-observers of *kashrut* and *taharat mishechta*.

Zvi Kurzweil views my stand on the separation of state and religion as a matter of tactics; for me, it is a matter of principle.

IN DISCUSSING with me - and against me - the great theme of theocentricity versus anthropocentricity and my rejection of the idea of religious humanism, Kurzweil quotes the well-known talmudic saying about the value of the engagement in Torah and mitzvot even *shelo lishman* (for the sake of their being "good for man") as a legitimate way leading to *lishman*. He ignores such sayings as: "Engagement in the Torah *lishma* makes it an elixir of life; engagement in it *shelo lishma* makes it an elixir of death," and many similar sayings.

But the decisive proof in this great controversy is not some text against which some contradictory text can always be found, but the tremendous fact of Yom Kippur, which is undoubtedly the supreme manifestation of Jewish faith. May I remind Zvi Kurzweil that the summing-up of that Day of Awe is: "Man has no pre-eminence over beast," but "You (God) mark out man by recognizing his standing before You." This

means: there is no intrinsic value in the human being; what constitutes his value is solely his standing before God.

Kurzweil is mistaken when he attributes to me the view that the purpose of the Revelation was "to teach man how to serve God." It is my firm and clearly expressed view that the meaning of Revelation is the demand made of man and the obligation imposed on him to serve God.

Neither the Sinai Revelation nor the Revelation in the words and deeds of the prophets succeeded in making the demand obeyed and the obligation fulfilled.

The acceptance of the "yoke of God's kingship and the yoke of Torah and mitzvot" - that is, the decision to serve God - was the result of a long process of change in consciousness, quite uninfluenced by any miraculous events. The achievement of the faith is the true miracle in the history of the Jews. As to "how to serve God" - this was taught by the Oral Law which is not "an interpretation of the Written Law."

lems were never discussed and analysed and, consequently, never solved.

The religious situation today is, therefore, characterized by a lack of any authentic halachic approach to the actual political, social, economic, technological, military problems of the modern Jewish state. The attempts to find religious guidance for solving these problems by means of formal derivation from the historical sources of the halacha, or by a new interpretation of these sources, are futile and even fraudulent - not because the content of these sources is incompatible with the realities of the modern state, but because these sources do not contain any reference - positive or negative - to these realities.

The problem for Jewish religion in the Jewish state is not the adaptation of the Halacha to the needs of the state - that is, a change of Halacha - but the creation of a Halacha for the problems of the state, a task that "official" Judaism tries to evade.

It is rather strange that Kurzweil combines "faith" with "religious experience" in reproaching me with a lack of both in my thinking. As a matter of fact, I distinguish quite strictly between these two. "Faith" is the standing of Abraham in the Akeda; it is "what I command you today is to be kept in your heart" (the "Shema") it is the acceptance of "the yoke of God's kingship and the yoke of Torah and mitzvot." While "religious experience" is a pagan-Christian notion without any foundation in Judaism.

Kurzweil imputes to me that I have been "conceding to modern scientific ideas their relative truth." I have never even hinted at a relativization of scientific knowledge.

HAIFA MAY NOT yet truly boast of having an international film festival, but the proceedings earlier this month on the Carmel were certainly a step in the right direction. If last year the city's first such festival was a pretty poor excuse for one, this time around the event had the right spirit and more. The organizers may not yet have all the know-how to put together the necessary ingredients or have enough money (who has, these days), but the Merkaz, Haifa's new centre on the Carmel, had four theatres showing films at the rate of 13 or 14 a day. It was decorated, festive and very much alive, indicating that the seeds for an international festival are there, and one hopes they will grow and prosper.

The first step, and a correct one in terms of creating the right mood, was keeping the festival short, three-and-a-half days, and keeping it concentrated in a relatively small area but including the atmosphere of the streets. Inviting media people and arranging for their stay for the whole festival proved to be very clever, considering the wide press coverage accorded to the event, as compared to what was written about similar happenings in the past. Another welcome aspect was having people in

A step in the right direction

FILM / Dan Fainaru

the profession - directors, distributors, producers, actors - on the spot; this established, theoretically at least, a basis for a yearly encounter, and eventually a much-needed dialogue may ensue from these encounters.

Although only four guests from abroad were brought here this time to present their films, this enlarged the scope of the event, especially since one of the guests was Sidney Lumet, one of Hollywood's most distinguished directors, and another was Andrei Konchalovsky, one of a handful of major talents to appear in the Soviet Union since World War II.

There were press conferences with

film-makers answering questions and even an "incident to add colour" - actress Michal Bat Adam, who plays the lead in a new Israeli production, *Athalie*, bristled at what she considered an opinionated and unfair question. Someone asked whether she was type-cast in this film.

There were midnight parties every night, in fitting with the ambience, and there were permanent queues in front of the cinemas, to show every one that the local audience responded more than favourably to the whole idea.

STILL, if Haifa really wants to take this seriously, certain aspects must be taken into consideration. To be-

gin with, the programme. Once again, organizers chose what appears to be the easy way out by selecting films already acquired for distribution in Israel. Without detracting from the appeal of Woody Allen's *Broadway Danny Rose*, Mario Camus' *The Innocent Sains* or Ivan Reitman's monster hit *The Ghostbusters*, one can say they did not generate special excitement because they are going to be screened around the country anyway.

The opening night film, *Paris Texas* is already distributed in cinemas across Israel and so is another entry, *L'Avare*, a film version of the Moliere classic featuring Louis de Funès, which was shown in a Tel Aviv cinema a couple of weeks before the festival started.

Some of the films announced that promised to be off the beaten track did a disappearing act. One example was Lang's 1926 silent classic *Metropolis*, with a new hard-rock soundtrack featuring singers such as Pat Benatar belting out hits. Acquired for the Israeli market, it has a pretty good chance of finding a screen later, but if shown here, it would have added a touch of the original to the programme. Ditto for *Man of Flowers*, a strange and fascinating

Australian film, whose director, Paul Cox, was supposed to accompany it to Haifa. It, too, didn't materialize.

The prestige entry that was intended to invest the festival with international status, a world premiere, did not arrive on time. Countless versions about what happened were circulated, with the festival folk clearly hinting that the only one to blame was the local distributor who had promised to have a print on time. Which only proves once again that relying on these people and on them alone may be comfortable (for they do all the hard work of making films available) but quite often they look after their own interests in preference to those of the festival.

A FILM festival has to have the right

theatres for its showings. Haifa is still in that prehistoric phase of cutting films in the middle for an intermission to allow people with weak bladders to empty them, and others with parched throats, to wet them. Films aren't shown like that any more, and Haifa should realize it. The state of the Shavit cinema is not quite what one would expect of a festival cinema, nor is the local cinema-matinee. The Orly cinema has just gone through extensive repairs. It is certainly comfortable, but I wouldn't suggest to anyone to sit in the back, for at that distance you see something the size of a large television screen. As for the auditorium, in which the main evening programmes were shown, it is spacious, but the portable equipment installed evidently can't handle a full length

feature film, without an intermission.

Another consideration: once you show parallel programmes, you should have each selection shown again to give the audience a chance to see what it missed the first round.

That may reduce the number of films shown but better 25 top entries shown twice, than 50 mixed ones, each displayed just once. And if in future line-ups of films someone will find a bit more space for the local Israeli cinema, that won't hurt either. After all, we should pay some attention to it here, when it is so difficult to get others to do so abroad. Somebody also needs to change the date of the event so it doesn't coincide with the Acre Fringe Theatre Festival, which caters to the same audience.

ROMAN Catholics in this Amazon jungle city flock to the grave, in a Christian cemetery, of a rabbi who has been dead for nearly 75 years, convinced his spirit can perform miracles such as curing illness or bringing riches.

They say such miracles are frequent and that Salom H. Moyal, a native of Morocco who came to the Amazon jungle during a turn-of-the-century rubber boom to raise money for the Zionist movement, is a "santo judeo," a Jewish saint.

Many of the 600 Jews remaining in this sweltering river port of 700,000 people would like to rebury the rabbi in Manaus' Jewish cemetery, which didn't exist when Moyal died in 1910. But they don't dare, because the late rabbi has become a tradition in the religious life of the overwhelmingly Catholic local population.

"We must leave Rabbi Moyal's body where it is, in St. John the Baptist Cemetery," says Manaus'

A Jewish saint

By BRUCE HANDLER / Manaus, Brazil

only rabbi, Moyses Elmescahy. "Great numbers of non-Jews here believe in this business about a Jewish saint, and we want to keep up good relations with the Christians," Moyses' local following apparently can be traced to his practice of mystical rites. Catholics here are known for their belief in mysticism and a tendency to mix in concepts from other religions.

Moyal's tombstone bears a large Magen David and inscriptions in Hebrew. All around are graves marked by Catholic symbols such as angels and crucifixes. In the middle of the cemetery stands an ornate

Catholic chapel. "Every day Christians come here asking the way to the tomb of the Jewish saint, so they can pray for miracles," Francisco Piedade, 55, a long-time caretaker at the cemetery, said in an interview. "They usually want to be cured of a disease, or they ask for a cure for a loved one," Piedade said. "But sometimes people ask the rabbi's spirit for success in romance or for luck in the soccer lottery."

The Jewish grave in Manaus features traditional Catholic votive candles and plaques posted by local residents, claiming to have received miraculous favours. "Rabbi, I thank you for the miracle achieved," says one such sign, initialed "L.G.L.A." Another reads, "miracle achieved on January 28, 1979, D.M.L."

"Many who go to the tomb are

simple people who don't really have a clear idea of what a Jew is," said Lucina Queiroz, the cemetery administrator, referring to the fact that Brazil has only about 200,000 Jews in a total population of 134 million. "All they know is that this is where they can come for miracles."

Curiously, Catholics seeking miracles often leave small rocks on Rabbi Moyal's grave, a custom originating in the Kabbala and said to facilitate communication with the spirits of those who have died. "Moyal aroused a lot of curiosity by practising kabbalistic rites and had a large following among the local Catholic community at the time," Rabbi Elmescahy said. "Somehow this tradition got passed down to Manaus' present-day Catholics."

Shalom, a Jewish affairs magazine published in Portuguese, noted, "the goyim learned about the rocks." It called the story of the so-called Jewish saint "an important part of Jewish folklore in Brazil," adding that the late rabbi's spirit "is doing a noble and impartial job."

Manaus' best known popular "saint," not recognized by the Vatican but credited with miraculous cures and favours, is Etelvina d'Alencar, a Catholic who died in 1901. Hers is the tomb most visited by miracle seekers coming to St. John the Baptist cemetery. But caretaker Piedade said, "the Jewish saint is in second place."

(Associated Press)

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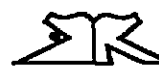
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TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWORD

- ACROSS
- 1 Began a business having a successful turnover in cars (7, 2)
 - 6 May be put here charged with assault - involved in battery, too (5)
 - 9 Didn't have a love? How very funny (7)
 - 10 Wrote cheque out of funds at the bank; it was by order of a strict manager! (7)
 - 11 Sounds unmusical! (5)
 - 12 Baba in the wind? Yes, and most certainly not! (7)
 - 13 Coming off the bolt? (5)
 - 14 Springs out its prey: a wildcat (5)
 - 16 Get these children baptised (5)
 - 17 Set of things that's listed under Manufacturers' Recommended Prices (5)
 - 20 Stands in the way of commercial enterprise! (7)
 - 22 German flower (5)
 - 23 About a thousand bet on horses called "Quiver" or "Shake" (7)
 - 24 Helps the enemy land one of our citizens in the soup, if he's caught (7)
 - 25 Golden Wedding celebration incomplete without them (5)
 - 26 Vast horde of wealth is only old copper, but greatly valued (9)

DOWN

- 1 Get notice to attend Job Centre afterwards (6)
- 2 Man Overboard! Makes one describe it as of little importance (1, 4, 2, 5, 5)
- 3 Horse's walking pace is faster than this (8)
- 4 Even those who like their food may be doing it then (6)
- 5 Landlord from club in a quiet turning (8)
- 6 They begin to get results (6)
- 7 Being mysterious about some water in Scotland (4, 4, 7)
- 8 Pound, from soil and mud, unusual metal (8)
- 15 Rule it to be the body of an army colonel (6)
- 17 Men of the world, we hear, read H. Wells - made them hostile! (8)
- 18 Had an edge on this vessel? (6)
- 19 Searches space vehicles, often (6)
- 20 Insect supplies sugar to the French (8)
- 21 Gave another piece! (6)
- 1 Given defence (9)
- 6 Explosive devices (5)
- 9 Emotionally roused (7)
- 10 Loot (7)
- 11 Goes in front (5)
- 12 Not friendly (7)
- 13 Type of antelope (5)
- 14 Skiff (5)
- 16 Work-tables (5)
- 18 Parts of ships (5)
- 20 Representations in stone (7)
- 22 Play falsely (5)
- 23 An illness (7)
- 24 Sailor (7)
- 25 European city (5)
- 26 Scattered (9)

'Quickie'

ACROSS

- 8 Worked for another (6)
- 15 Guided (8)
- 17 Marine creature (3-6)
- 18 Desert hallucination (6)
- 19 Films shown on it (6)
- 20 Affixed to envelopes (6)
- 21 Looked hard (6)

Wednesday's Solutions

OTHELLO ANTIQUITY
THERON EMULOUS
CERARTY
MOTORISTS TRIP
ATTSOR
NOCKS TIDELANDS
SUNDONNER PARES
IOR EIT
MOTET SUSPENDER
PASTT DIE
LOVELIA ADDENDA
ELIIRIGM
SLEEPER TRESSES

Quick Solution
ACROSS: 1 Border, 5 Whole, 8 Rhine, 9 Farther or further, 12 Later, 13 Inert, 14 Strong, 15 Meteor, 17 Realign, 18 Acrobat, 19 Tanager, 20 Clint, 21 Holly, 22 Dependent, 23 Seryl, 24 Aviator, 25 Goshawk, 26 Italian, 27 Warlock, 28 October, 29 Erratic, 30 Scratch, 31 Jeannette, 32 Rubbish, 33 Candid, 34 Austria, 35 Regal, 36 Titan.

MO... Shar... Look East the Pe... AE 31 Wc To... PIRKEI... USA GREAT BRIT GERMANY SWITZERLAND AUSTRALIA SOUTH AFR BELGIUM AUSTRIA ITALY JAPAN

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Mr. Kessar's two hats

HISTADRUT Secretary-General Israel Kessar is determined in his taking up the cudgels for a fair division of the burden between the salaried, the self-employed, the business sector and the government itself in what cannot but be a painful period in Israel's economic history.

In the past, governments both of Labour and of the Likud, chose between alternative economic plans largely in accordance with bureaucratic convenience and ease of implementation. The economic topic of a plan was secondary.

As a result, even though we are so heavily unionized in Israel, it has always been the salaried workers who have borne the brunt. For they are in an inferior position when defending themselves against the ravages of inflation, the rapaciousness of price gougers and the insensitivity of government bureaucrats.

Mr. Kessar's pugnacity in the package deal talks can, of course, be explained partly by his need to stem tensions in his trade union constituency. This is as it should be. For a trade union head in these days must both fight for the interests of the workers and be seen and heard to be doing so.

The problem is that Mr. Kessar is fighting only half of the fight he should be taking on. For he heads a Histadrut that is not only the all-encompassing federation of nearly all trade unions in Israel. He is also head of the Histadrut's Hevrat Ovdim and of its ramified institutions which control well over one quarter of the Israel economy, both as measured by Gross National Product and by the proportion of the labour force employed.

In his dramatic appearance at the opening of the tri-partite talks Wednesday night he waved a list said to contain the names of 2300 products whose prices were raised by between 100 and 200 per cent in the last few months.

Can it be that Mr. Kessar did not name names because some of these products are produced or marketed by Histadrut-owned or affiliated enterprises?

Take the Histadrut's Hamashbir Lazarchan and Co-op marketing outlets. They are no cheaper than their private supermarket and department store competitors, and both chains are markedly more expensive in sales of fruits, vegetables and other foodstuffs than are the open markets in the major cities. And if they are no different from the privately-owned stores, what is their justification?

The list could be extended to include the Histadrut's Shikun Ovdim housing corporation, the Hassneh insurance company, and many, many others.

Since the early 1970s large parts of the Histadrut's economic empire have become extremely profit minded. In many ways this has been a desirable development and a sorely needed corrective to earlier years when cost-consciousness was a dirty word in most politically controlled Histadrut firms.

But in the course of becoming profit minded - which is not always synonymous with efficiency minded - many Histadrut enterprises have been permitted to lose sight of the original guiding ethos of the Histadrut as a microcosm of a socialist commonwealth: expressing responsibility for the welfare of the workers, who collectively own them, and to the society at large.

Returning the Histadrut's empire to this ethos is at least as great a challenge to Israel Kessar as is the need to keep the government committed to a fair distribution of the economic burden in the package deal being negotiated.

Even the first signs of success in harnessing Histadrut firms towards meeting the basic interests of Histadrut members in these difficult days could do wonders in countering the widespread alienation from the Histadrut that has made such deep inroads among the organization's rank and file. It would also have an important impact on the level of wholesale and retail prices in the country.

WALDMAN

(Continued from Page One)
 Shakh, who lost his legs in one of the bomb attacks.

Q. "Do you remember that, after the attacks, various agencies in Judea and Samaria said that the area had become quieter? Do you agree with this evaluation?"

A. "Only in a very particular sense..."

Q. "What was the nature of the connections between the National Guidance Committee and the rejectionist front (set up by radical Arabs in the wake of the Camp David accords)?"

A. "There is no information regarding links of a military nature. The National Guidance Committee was a political organization set up to arrange incitement and demonstrations etcetera... I do not know of connections between Shakh's and George Habash."

The witness also rejected the suggestion of any connection between the NGC and the May 1980 terrorist attack on Beit Hadassah in Hebron in which six Jews were killed. The June attacks on Shakh and some of his associates were in revenge for that.

Much of yesterday's session was devoted to a series of meetings between "Ya'acov" and one of the main defendants in the affair, Yehoshua Ben Shoshan.

Ben Shoshan, who served as an officer in the Israel Defence Forces Central Command, asked the GSS agent in charge of his interrogation - code-named "Yisrael" - to call "Ya'acov" to the interrogation unit in the Russian Compound police

headquarters where he was being held.

At the first meeting, Ben Shoshan asked to see Yahad MK Binyamin Ben Eliezer, was a former coordinator of activities in the administered areas and a close personal friend. He also asked to see Rafael Eitan, the Prime Minister's adviser on terror.

"Ya'acov" said he persuaded Ben Shoshan that there was no point in seeing Ben Eliezer and that this would embarrass him since he had entered politics. Eitan was not informed of Ben Shoshan's request.

Ben Shoshan told "Ya'acov" of the plan to destroy the mosques on the Temple Mount, and the defence is arguing that there was an agreement concluded between him and the GSS not to prosecute the other people allegedly involved in the plot.

"Ya'acov" said that he had not promised Ben Shoshan that his alleged accomplices would not be prosecuted or that they would be amnestied. The only thing he agreed to undertake was to try to prevent the publication of the plot to blow up the mosques, because they had agreed that this was in the national interest.

The defence counsel has been arguing in its cross-examination of the GSS witnesses over the past week that the GSS knew in advance of the identity of some of the conspirators involved in the Temple Mount plot.

One of their arguments is that Ben Shoshan agreed to make a list of names, which he then gave to another of the major defendants, Menahem Livni. Livni compared the list to another list prepared by the GSS and found them to be identical.

"Ya'acov" was challenged to explain how the GSS already knew the names but insisted that it had received the information from other suspects. Advocate Avi-Yitzhak: "Is there a hit on which you wrote?" Ya'akov: "That's not true!" (The hit was then presented to the court.) Those markings were not made by me at all, and as far as I remember the note was smaller."

The in camera hearing will resume on Sunday.

Options for action

By SHLOMO TADMOR

BECAUSE OF OUR anguish over the plight of Soviet Jews, and the urgent necessity to alleviate their condition and bring them out, but also because of our emotional involvement, we may be overlooking openings and taking blind alleys in our desperate search for a solution.

The gates have been closed for two years now. Repression harks back to Stalinist methods, if not dimensions. Jews are harassed for teaching Hebrew, for trying to keep in touch with the outside world, for wanting to make aliyah or emigrate. False evidence (drugs, weapons) is being planted in the homes of activists. Harsh measures are meted out in mock trials based on ludicrous accusations. Anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism are officially sanctioned and promoted.

Jews cannot leave the Soviet Union, yet they cannot live in it as Jews.

We feel we have tried just about everything possible. Because this is so, we must re-examine, even rethink, our strategy in order to find the appropriate tactics which will bring about a resumption in repatriation (a term used in the letter of 114 Jews, addressed to French President Francois Mitterrand last June).

IN TRYING to find new ways, we are hampered by three questions:

Firstly, what do we know of the post-Brezhnev Soviet regime and its workings? How should we interpret Soviet policies and actions, the latter often seeming to contradict Soviet ideology. Behaviour may be more of a clue than official declarations.

Secondly, what is the real place of the Jewish question in Soviet problems and priorities? And, since the Soviets are dealing with a question antecedent to them, what can we learn from Russian history in terms of ideas entertained to solve the Jewish question?

Thirdly, what is the nature of the Soviet state, and how do we attack its weak points?

In an article in the *New Yorker* magazine recently, John Kenneth Galbraith listed the basic problems with which the Soviets are grappling. None is connected with the Jewish problem as such, but rather concern such matters as centralization versus decentralization; the breakdown of Soviet agriculture; a form of inflation (more money to go around than they can supply consumer goods for); the enormous cost of coping with ever-growing metropolitan areas.

Of course, with Galbraith's interest and expertise, he focused on economics as being central in Soviet preoccupations. The Jewish question must be seen against the economic background and within the context of economic priorities.

Next, the Jewish problem must be seen in its international context. Here, it is helpful to remember that while international friction sets the scene, it is domestic problems - or its reflection in them - that determine the mode of Soviet reactions and attitudes towards "their" Jews, but not necessarily *qua* Jews. What comes into play here is the larger question of minorities.

Already at the end of the last century, the prominent and influential reactionary thinker and jurist Pobiedonostzev suggested a three-pronged "solution" to the Jewish question in Tsarist Russia: kill one-third, Russify one-third, and expel one-third. That was unofficial policy and it failed - or, at least, the first two failed. The great Jewish emigration from the pale at the turn of the century was the result.

THEN CAME the revolution and the communist regime remained stuck with the Jewish question. Like their predecessors, the new rulers did not know what to do with their Jews (theories, constitution and Birobidjan notwithstanding).

Since the Soviets were captives of their ideology and trapped in its semantics - in which "emigration" does not exist - they could not countenance emigration as a solution. This did not change throughout the years, and because the Soviets feel impelled to act within their vocabulary, we must respect this and take it as a given.

But we must also make every effort to help them break out, honourably, of their own semantic predicament. If we succeed, they will be able to accept repatriation not only as our solution, but also as theirs.

This is no easy task, because there is the other side of the coin of conceptual captivity - ours. To wit, thinking about their problems and situations within our categories and concepts. But we must deal with the Soviets (or any other adversaries) within their terms.

A good example of fallacious thinking, when applied to totalitarian states, is our - that is the western - concept of what its nature is.

WHEN WORLD WAR II ended, Hugh Trevor-Roper shocked the world when he revealed, and proved, that Nazi Germany was not the centralized totalitarian state we all believed it was. Neither is the Soviet Union.

Nazi Germany was more like a feudal state, made up of organizations with conflicting interests, vying with each other. There was the SS, the Gestapo, the army, and later on in the east, Rosenberg's "Eastern Ministry," Sauckel's slave-labour organization, the Reichskommissar-

The Friday Dry Bones



ists, etc., all working, in effect, at cross purposes.

The Soviet Union is, if anything, even more fractionalized, because of the added nationalities problem. We tend to gloss over the fact that there are local party fiefdoms, regional power bases, national loyalties, the army, the KGB, and so on - all with their own interests.

A case in point which sheds light on this was the brutal handling of Israel's former president, Professor Efraim Katzir, in Leningrad, which was both preceded and followed by the red-carpet treatment in Moscow. The point is that it may not have been at all a sinister, sophisticated, deliberate act of central planning. Rather, it was probably that the left hand did not know what the right hand was doing.

The former president may also have been the club with which one group used to beat or embarrass the other.

Be that as it may, the Katzir incident may have afforded us a glimpse into the dynamics and methods of inner struggles in the Soviet system. And this should be exploited, for while we tend to believe that we are dealing with centrally dictated policy and its rigid execution, this presumption may not be true.

Another example is the use of anti-Zionism. I have no doubt about the genuineness of Soviet anti-Zionism, but its application may be totally different from what it appears, such as a weapon in the succession struggle of Kremlin factions or differences between various branches of government.

Paradoxes are forever baffling Sovietologists. Perhaps they are the

result of false expectations of consistency. Examples which come to mind are the Soviet Union's unrelenting hostility towards Zionism but its acceptance of the Zionist tenet that Israel is "the historical homeland of the Jews," or the inexplicable fact of the second-largest annual emigration to Israel (34,733) while we were fighting the Soviet allies in the Yom Kippur War.

Then, one has the contradictory portrayals of Israel in the various Soviet newspapers. At one time, Israel may be portrayed as the Zionist tool of U.S. imperialism, but at another Israel may be portrayed simply as a hostile local power in the Middle East. At once Israel is portrayed as a powerful threat to which only traitors would want to emigrate and as a backward, bankrupt country, where people are unemployed and hungry, and to which only fools will go.

Finally, in this list of paradoxes and zigzags, for almost 70 years the Soviets have been unable to make up their minds whether to tackle us head on or let us fade away in a Soviet version of "benign neglect."

THE SOVIET UNION remains inscrutable, as it was in Churchill's days when he termed it "a puzzle, wrapped in a riddle, inside an enigma." We keep groping for sense, for signals. And still, we cannot sort out substance from semblance.

The Soviets have genuine dilemmas. Those we must accept. Thus, emigration must be seen in its economic context (from both the external and domestic aspect) and within the context of their minorities problem.

Emigration is, among other things, an economic concern. Keeping people inside the Soviet Union - and keeping them productive - is manpower policy. Minorities ought to be harnessed for the economic effort.

We scoff at the Soviet exaggeration of ranking emigration with treason. But economics is so important to the Soviets (economics crimes are punishable by death), that emigration equals sabotage and sabotage equals betrayal, and therefore emigration is also betrayal.

The other side of the economic coin must be seen in the light of international politics. The Soviet Union needs technology. Detente was designed to obtain it. If letting Jews out is part of detente and helps the Soviets get the goods, fine. But if emigration does not serve such a purpose, what is the point of letting the Jews go? What does not serve detente, according to the Soviet interpretation, is discarded - just as detente itself was scrapped when it ceased to serve Soviet purposes.

WHAT CAN BE expected in the foreseeable future? Prognostication is folly, but assuming that Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko stays on, the hard line of Yuri

Andropov will not change, in particular because Chernenko's base is the party and the ideological cadres. Even if he departs from the scene soon, the basic gap between the two superpowers remains. And that means there will be a long way before the impasse is broken.

Here it is necessary to take note of Israel's place in the East-West struggle. No, we do not want to be part of this conflict. Yet, our case is unique. Yes, we do not attack the Soviet regime and do not want to meddle in its domestic affairs.

But, like it or not, Israel cannot take itself out of the East-West conflict. We cannot, on the one hand, expect to benefit if the conflict recedes, or attach hopes to a Reagan-Gromyko meeting - and then blithely declare that we are not part of the process and have no stake in it.

Would it therefore be too bold to say that, after all, even though we are small and even though we do not wish to be partners in the Cold War, we can be a bridge and a catalyst?

Clearly, we are part of the Free World, yet we must try not to take sides. Rather, we should seek to be instrumental in working out the equation of emigration on the one hand, and perhaps, trade on the other. If we cannot deliver, perhaps we can at least be the midwife.

Finally, the Soviet Union is not impervious to external influence, nor is it indifferent to its image in the world. While it remains true that on cardinal issues the Soviets do not react impulsively or even ideologically, but pragmatically out of their own considerations and according to their own timetable, it also remains true that they are persuaded to change their position on certain issues.

One way is to reach them through Europe, to which they sometimes listen in the absence of a Soviet-American dialogue. Another way is to reach them by attack and embarrassment, if need be, in the various international official bodies and non-governmental organizations.

We should hammer away in forums like the Interparliamentary Union, ILO, WHO, FAO, the Universal Postal Union, the Socialist International and the Liberal International, and just about every other international and European body, conference, congress and convention. In the absence of carrots, we can wield our sticks in those organizations. Let us not underestimate it.

There have always been two sides to our efforts, public and non-public. We can here address ourselves only to the public. I believe we do have options for action on the public scene which will guide the Soviets towards the only solution for them - and for us - namely repatriation of the Jews to their homeland.

The writer is director-general of the Jewish Agency.

READERS' LETTERS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - As a veteran pediatrician who for years has studied health problems in Israel related to preventive medicine, may I point to the misleading and unconvincing arguments used by Prof. Baruch Modan, Health Ministry director-general, in his address delivered at the recent international symposium on Primary Prevention of Coronary Heart Disease. "Prevention is cheaper than cure," (October 7). He said that "Israel is taking guidelines in preventive care from the U.S. but implementation is slow and costly" and proposed that "all hospitals and clinics divert two per cent of their budgets towards preventive care."

First of all, hospitals and clinics are engaged in the field of curative medicine only and have nothing to do with the prevention of sickness. To suggest that they should contribute to financing preventive care from their own inadequate budgets, is nonsense and that such opinion should be formulated by the head of our health services is deplorable.

I agree with Prof. Modan that Israel is taking guidelines in preventive care from the U.S. but to my regret, only to combat one health hazard, namely smoking. On the

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

other hand, our health authorities completely ignore another risk factor, no less important than smoking, namely diet. A healthy diet may reduce the incidence of coronary heart disease and cancer (the same dietary regulations adopted to avoid cardiovascular disease are useful to prevent colon cancer), but should be started at a tender age - in the cradle. The first atherosclerotic lesions are present in a significant percentage of children and have been recognized in infants as young as nine months in autopsy findings. It is therefore reasonable that mother and child clinics (Tipar Halav) should be entrusted with the important task of supervising infant nutrition.

Since I came to Israel in 1950 I have been conducting a fight against the faulty advice on infant feeding which young mothers receive at these clinics, namely the early introduction in infants' diet of superfluous and expensive foods that endanger the health of infants, constitute a risk factor in adult life and expose poor families to unnecessary expense.

The situation worsened in 1974 with the publication by the Health Ministry of a booklet on infant feed-

ing for use in nursing schools and Tipat Halav clinics which advised to start fruits and vegetables at four weeks and meat, including those rich in cholesterol and saturated fats, at two months. For five years, I fought for its withdrawal and finally forced the Health Ministry to form an independent committee which invalidated the booklet in 1979 and recommended the preparation of a new one. In 1982, the Ministry of Health, together with the Israel Pediatric Association published a new book with insignificant corrections.

As the Health Ministry refused to answer my repeated demands for another independent committee to examine my claims against it, I applied to the High Court of Justice. The Court was informed that a committee of experts under the chairmanship of Professor I. Tamir of Hadassah Hospital, Jerusalem would review the booklet and that I had been invited to attend a meeting on May 15. I was duly invited three days before the meeting, attended it, and have heard nothing further.

In the meantime, the nurses at Tipat Halav continue to give the same faulty advice on infant feeding to young inexperienced mothers. Haifa. DR. J. WILCZEK

INSPIRING ARTICLES

dating letters with the inclusion of the day of the weekly Torah portion. Perhaps the recipients of my correspondence will likewise see the beauty of personal identification with eternal Jewish history. This

may consequently result in a chain reaction encircling the entire Jewish world. Of course, I include the corresponding secular date as well. SYLVIA MANDELBAUM Safad.

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